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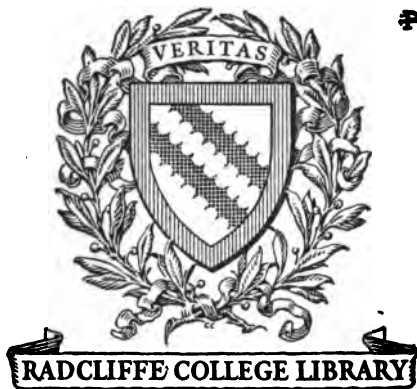
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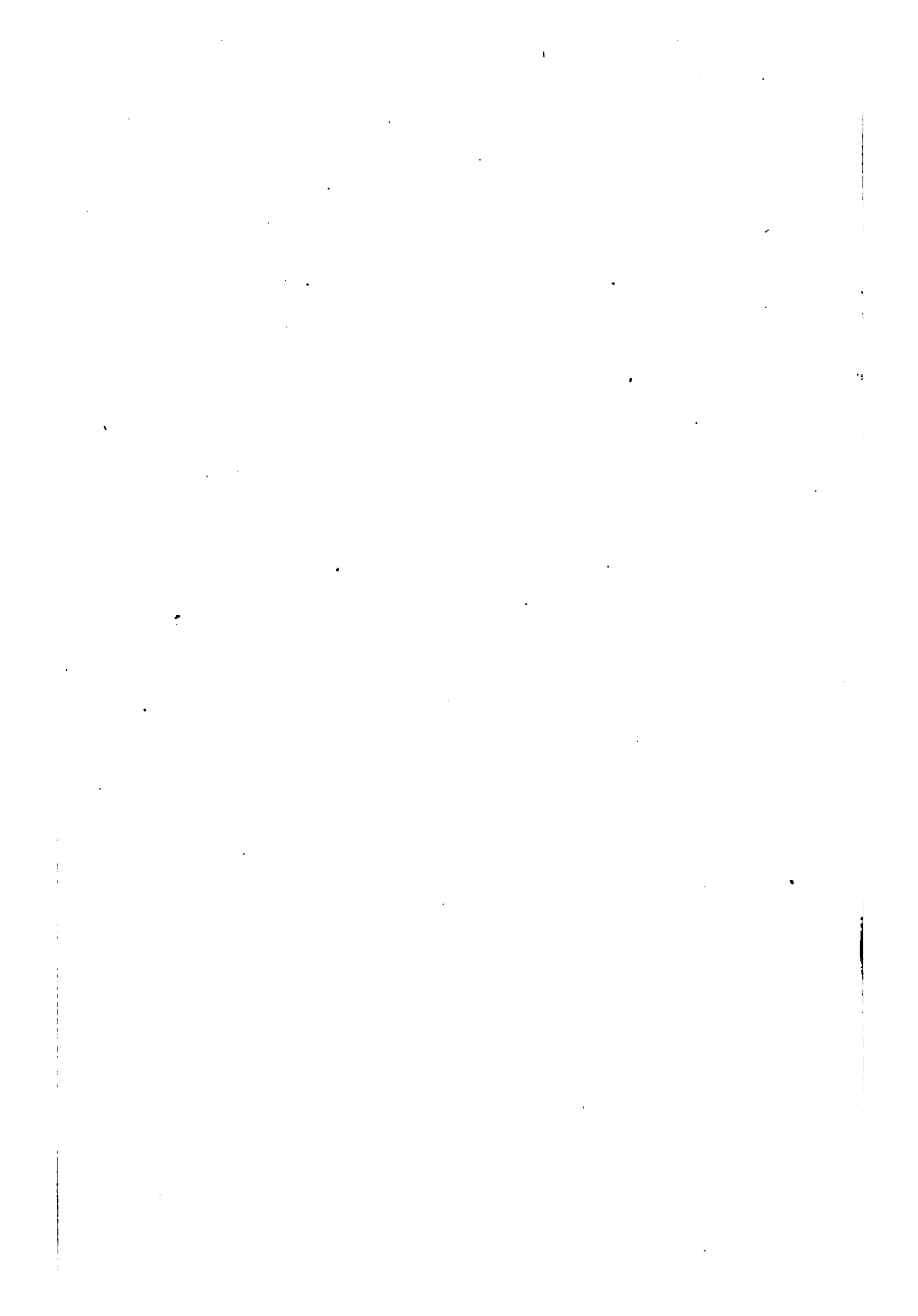
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EXPLANATORY NOTE

Although Woman Suffrage has been discussed for many years, interest in the subject has by no means diminished. It is in response to a very lively demand for material and especially for a Debaters' Handbook on the subject that the present volume has been compiled. This book is similar to the other volumes of the series, and contains a bibliography and reprints of the best available material both in favor of and opposed to the extension of the suffrage.

For the sake of convenience, the reprints have been grouped under three main headings: General Discussion, Affirmative, and Negative Discussion. Owing to the vast amount of literature on this subject, a complete bibliography would be an impossibility and has not been attempted. It is believed, however, that this bibliography will be found adequate for the needs of the average reader or debater. While a much larger number of references were examined than appear here, only those have been selected that would be valuable and at the same time easily accessible to the average library or individual.

September, 1910.

EXPLANATORY NOTE TO SECOND EDITION

So much has been published on Woman Suffrage since the first edition of this book was issued, that it has seemed advisable to make the second edition practically a new work. Nearly all of the articles formerly included have been replaced with later material, and the bibliography has been greatly enlarged and brought up to date. Two entirely new features—a brief and an introductory chapter—have also been included.

August, 1912.

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BRIEF

Resolved, That the women of the United States should be granted the suffrage on the same terms as men.

INTRODUCTION

- I. The granting of educational privileges to women during the last fifty years has led to a demand for all the privileges that men now enjoy.
- II. The most important of these demands is that for woman suffrage.
- III. In many states and countries the suffrage has been granted to women.
 - A. Full suffrage.
 - B. School, local, or municipal suffrage.
- IV. In nearly every country of the world where it does not now exist, women are agitating for the suffrage on the same terms as men.

AFFIRMATIVE

The Affirmative is in favor of extending the suffrage to women, for

- I. Woman suffrage is logical and just.
 - A. It is the next and last step in the full governmental recognition of woman as a personality.
 1. The other rights and privileges of citizenship have been granted.
 - B. The right to vote is based on the democratic theory that each one shall have a voice in the government that rules over his affairs.
 1. There can be no true democracy where one-

half of the adult population is denied this privilege.

- C. There are many women tax-payers who without the suffrage have no representation in the legislation affecting taxation.
- II. Woman suffrage is expedient.
- A. For the state.
 - 1. Women are well qualified for the suffrage.
 - a. The argument that in order to vote one must be able to fight, is unsound.
 - b. The percentage of illiterate and foreign-born women is less than the percentage of illiterate and foreign-born men.
 - c. Statistics show a smaller percentage of criminals, drunkards, etc., among women than among men.
 - 2. The participation of women would improve political life.
 - a. The influence of the home would be increased.
 - b. A much needed element would be introduced.
 - c. Better laws would be secured and better candidates elected.
 - 3. Women are needed in municipal government.
 - a. Municipal government is now largely civic housekeeping to which women are especially adapted.
 - b. Women cannot adequately care for their homes without a voice in municipal affairs.
 - i¹ The conditions on which depends the welfare of the home are no longer matters of private concern.
 - 4. The argument that the home would suffer by the participation of women in political life, is unsound.
 - a. Voting takes little time from other duties.

- b. Differences of opinion cannot disrupt families worth holding together.
 - c. Family ties will be strengthened by the new community of interests which suffrage will introduce.
5. The argument that women will not vote is disproved by the facts.
- B. For women themselves.**
- 1. Political knowledge and experience will develop women.
 - a. It will equip them more thoroughly for the duties of motherhood and the home.
 - b. It will make them better fitted for social and public life.
 - 2. It would be a benefit to women legally, politically, and economically.
 - a. Women now suffer from many legal, political and industrial inequalities and discriminations.
 - b. The ballot is the only effective way of securing equal rights and privileges with men.
 - c. The argument that women are represented by men is unsound.
 - i¹ Men cannot understand and legislate for the needs of women.
 - 3. It is not true that women do not wish to vote.
 - a. A large and constantly increasing number are asking for the privilege.
 - b. The fact that some are apathetic is no reason for withholding it.
- III. The results of woman suffrage are favorable to its extension.**
- A. Full suffrage where it has been granted has been successful.**
- 1. Better candidates have been selected.
 - 2. Much good legislation has been secured.
 - 3. The elections have been more orderly.

4. The best women have voted.
 5. The character of women has not deteriorated.
 6. The home has been benefitted.
 7. Interest in the study of political questions has been aroused.
- B. Municipal and school suffrage have been successful.
- C. An extension of the suffrage has generally followed its adoption.

NEGATIVE

The Negative is not in favor of extending the suffrage to women, for

- I. Women cannot claim the vote on the ground of justice.
 - A. It is not a natural or inherent right.
 1. It is not so recognized by the Constitution and the Supreme Court.
 2. It is granted for the good of the state and not for the individual.
 - B. Voting has nothing to do with taxation.
 1. Many vote who are not taxed.
 2. Many are taxed who may not vote.
 - C. Suffrage is not a question of justice, but of policy and expediency.
- II. Woman suffrage would not be expedient.
 - A. It would not be for the best interests of society.
 1. Women are unfitted to exercise the franchise.
 - a. They are physically unable to enforce the laws.
 - b. They are not informed on public questions.
 - c. They are swayed by sentiment rather than justice.
 2. The home would suffer by the participation of women in the affairs of state.
 - a. Families would be internally divided.
 - b. The home would be neglected.
 - c. Divorce would be increased.
 3. The vote would be redoubled.

- a. Our voting body is already too large and unwieldy for public safety.
- 4. The evil element in politics would be greatly increased.
 - a. Many good women would be indifferent.
 - b. The bad women would vote.
- ~~IV~~ B. It would not be for the best interests of women themselves.
 - 1. Socially.
 - a. Their power to influence good legislation would be impaired.
 - b. They would be made less womanly.
 - c. They would lose the respect of men.
 - 2. Politically.
 - a. Women have many legal rights and privileges which they would lose if they could vote.
 - b. The laws for women are no better in suffrage states than elsewhere.
 - 3. Industrially.
 - a. Women now have every opportunity to engage in industry.
 - b. Wages are regulated by the law of supply and demand and not by the ballot.
- ~~Woman suffrage is unnecessary.~~
- A. Women will not gain anything by the suffrage that they cannot get without.
- B. All the legal and educational advantages which they enjoy have been gained without it.
- IV. The majority of women do not want it.
 - A. Many women are actively protesting against the extension of the franchise.
 - B. They show little interest in public questions.
 - C. They have never exercised the privilege largely where it has been granted.
- V. The results of the suffrage where it exists are not favorable to its extension.
 - A. Suffrage has accomplished little where it has been tried.

1. The position of women has not improved.
 2. It has not resulted in purifying politics.
 3. Better laws have not been passed, nor better candidates elected.
- B. More harm than good has been done.
- C. The countries and states where suffrage exists for women, are too small and unimportant for their experience to be valuable.
1. In regard to size and character of population.
 2. The franchise is mostly a limited one.

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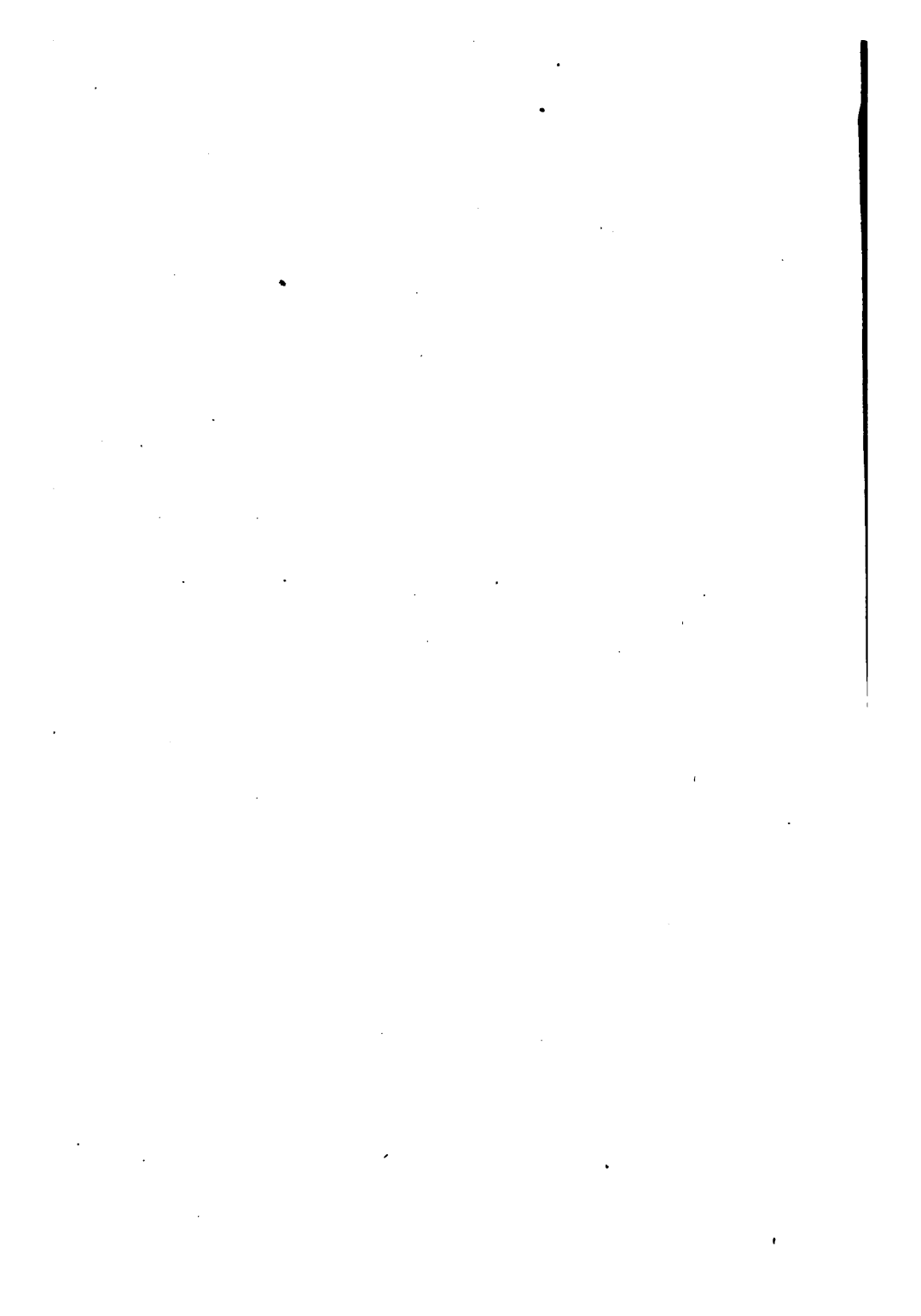
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SELECTED ARTICLES ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

INTRODUCTION

One fact that early impresses the student of this question is that Woman Suffrage is not a subject of academic discussion merely, it is an active political movement. Not only in the United States but in nearly every country of the civilized world there are well-established organizations of women, and, often, men also, actively engaged in promoting or opposing the extension of the suffrage to women. As one of their methods of propaganda, these organizations publish and distribute vast quantities of literature including weekly and monthly periodicals. This literature is extremely valuable for reference, and as the length of the bibliography forbids more than a brief statement of how this material may be secured, it seems advisable to give place here to a list of the more important of these organizations and their publications.

The most prominent of the societies organized for the extension of the suffrage to women in the United States, is the National American Woman Suffrage Association, with headquarters at 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City. This organization publishes an immense amount of literature and has issued a catalog of its publications, which is sent free to any address on request. The *Woman's Journal*, a weekly publication edited by Alice Stone Blackwell, has a wide national circulation, and is published at 585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., subscription price one dollar a year. Auxil-

ary to this national body are numerous state, city, county and local organizations, and various allied societies, many of which publish literature and issue periodicals. Perhaps the two most notable of these periodicals are the *Woman Voter*, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City, subscription price, fifty cents a year; and *The Newsletter*, 180 Madison Avenue, New York City, fifty cents a year.

There is no national organization opposed to the extension of the suffrage to women, but societies have been organized in many of the states and are publishing and distributing literature. Those with whom the student will find it most profitable to correspond are the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, with headquarters at 29 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City, the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, Room 615, Kensington Building, Boston, Mass., and the Illinois Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 1523 Dearborn Avenue, Chicago, Ill. The Massachusetts Association publishes "The Remonstrance" the subscription price of which is twenty-five cents a year.

In addition to the above-mentioned periodicals there are a few published abroad which will be valuable as sources of up to date information to those making an exhaustive study of the subject. Among those issued by the advocates of Woman Suffrage are the *Jus Suffragii*, 92 Kruiskade, Rotterdam, Holland, organ of the International Suffrage Alliance, subscription price eighty-two cents a year; *Votes for Women*, 4 Clements Inn, The Strand, London, organ of the Women's Social and Political Union (the "militant" organization); *The Common Cause*, 2 Roberts Street, Adelphi, London, W. C., organ of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies; and *The Vote*, 1 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W. C., organ of the Woman's Freedom League. On the other side of the question there is one important periodical, the *Anti-Suffrage Review*, published by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 515 Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S. W. London, of which the subscription price is about thirty-eight cents a year.

A second fact that impresses the reader or student is the rapidity with which events come to pass in this movement for the enfranchisement for women. One must keep almost daily in touch with what is published on the question in order that his stock of information may always be reliable and up to date. Many of the latest facts and statistics could not be incorporated into the following discussions because they could not be secured in any but the most fragmentary form, and for this reason, it has been decided best to include them in this introductory article.

To the list of the gains for equal suffrage summarized, in the following article, to the close of 1911, may be added those already secured during 1912. These are, in brief, as follows: Full suffrage for women in China, on the same terms as men; the Parliamentary franchise for a limited number of women in Portugal; women made eligible as borough and district councillors in Ireland, and to almost all state offices in Norway; school suffrage restored in Kentucky. Other partial gains are the endorsement of equal suffrage by many national and affiliated trade, social, political and religious organizations, and its incorporation into the platforms of state and national political conventions, especially those of the Socialist, Prohibition and the newly-organized Progressive Parties.

That other gains for Woman Suffrage will be made before the close of 1912 seems probable, for the legislatures of Oregon, Kansas, Michigan, Wisconsin and the constitutional convention of Ohio have already voted to submit amendments to their state constitutions allowing women to vote on the same terms as men. These amendments will be voted upon at the November elections in every state but Ohio where action is to be taken on the work of the constitutional convention, on the third of September. A similar amendment was passed by the last legislature of Nevada, but must pass the legislature a second time before going to the voters. The legislature of Louisiana has resolved to submit an amendment granting school suffrage to women and this will also be voted on in November, 1912. The state legisla-

ture of Arizona voted down an amendment for full suffrage this spring, whereupon its supporters filed an initiative petition calling for a referendum on the question at the November election, and action will be taken by the voters at that time.

An examination of statistics for foreign countries shows similar movements on foot in many of them to remove the political disadvantages to which women are now subject. Action has already been taken by the Parliaments of Norway, Denmark and Iceland to give women the Parliamentary suffrage on the same terms which men now enjoy and from Hungary now comes the semi-official report that the government intends soon to introduce a bill into Parliament for the enfranchisement of woman owners of property, proprietors of business and holders of the title of doctor. The limits of this volume make impossible any further description of present status of Woman Suffrage in England or other countries than our own more than is included in the following General Discussion. The bibliography provides many articles, however, for those wishing to read extensively on this phase of the question.

August 28, 1912.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Gains in Equal Suffrage.

Alice S. Blackwell.

Eighty years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent in Sweden, and in a few other places in the old world.

TIME	PLACE	KIND OF SUFFRAGE
1838	Kentucky	School suffrage to widows with children of school age.
1850	Ontario	School suffrage, women married and single.
1861	Kansas	School suffrage.
1867	New South Wales....	Municipal suffrage.
1869	England	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
	Victoria	Municipal suffrage, married and single women.
	Wyoming	Full suffrage.
1871	West Australia.....	Municipal suffrage.
1875	Michigan	School suffrage.
	Minnesota	School suffrage.
1876	Colorado	School suffrage.
1877	New Zealand.....	School suffrage.
1878	New Hampshire.....	School suffrage.
	Oregon	School suffrage.
1879	Massachusetts	School suffrage.
1880	New York.....	School suffrage.
	Vermont	School suffrage.
	South Australia.....	Municipal suffrage.
1881	Scotland	Municipal suffrage to the single women and widows.
	Isle of Man.....	Parliamentary suffrage.
1883	Nebraska	School suffrage.
1884	Ontario	Municipal suffrage.
	Tasmania	Municipal suffrage.
1886	New Zealand.....	Municipal suffrage.
	New Brunswick.....	Municipal suffrage.
1887	Kansas	Municipal suffrage.
	Nova Scotia.....	Municipal suffrage.
	Manitoba	Municipal suffrage.
	North Dakota.....	School suffrage.
	South Dakota.....	School suffrage.
	Montana	School suffrage.
	Arizona	School suffrage.
	New Jersey.....	School suffrage.
	Montana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1888	England	County suffrage.
	British Columbia...	Municipal suffrage.
	Northwest Territory...	Municipal suffrage.
1889	Scotland	County suffrage.
	Province of Quebec...	Municipal suffrage. Single women and widows.
1891	Illinois	School suffrage.
1893	Connecticut	School suffrage.
	Colorado	Full suffrage.
	New Zealand.....	Full suffrage.
1894	Ohio	School suffrage.
	Iowa	Bond suffrage.
	England	Parish and district suffrage. Married and single women.

SELECTED ARTICLES

TIME	PLACE	KIND OF SUFFRAGE
1895	South Australia.....	Full state suffrage.
1896	Utah	Full suffrage.
	Idaho	Full suffrage.
1898	Ireland	All offices except members of Parliament.
	Minnesota	Library trustees.
	Delaware	School suffrage to tax-paying women.
	France	Women engaged in commerce can vote for judges of the Tribunal of commerce.
	Louisiana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1900	Wisconsin	School suffrage.
	West Australia.....	Full state suffrage.
1901	New York	Tax-paying suffrage. Local taxation in all towns and villages of the state.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage.
1902	Australia	Full suffrage.
	New South Wales....	Full state suffrage.
1903	Kansas	Bond suffrage.
	Tasmania	Full state suffrage.
1905	Queensland	Full state suffrage.
1906	Finland	Full suffrage. Eligible to all offices.
1907	Norway	Full Parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage.
	Sweden	Eligible to municipal offices.
	Denmark	Can vote for members of boards of public charities, and serve on such boards.
	England	Eligible as mayors, aldermen and county and town councillors.
	Oklahoma	New state continued school suffrage for women.
1908	Michigan	Taxpayers to vote on questions of local taxation and granting of franchises.
	Denmark	Women who are taxpayers, or wives of taxpayers, a vote for all officers except members of Parliament.
1909	Victoria	Full state suffrage.
	Belgium	Can vote for members of the Councils des Prudhommes, and also eligible.
	Province of Vorarlberg (Austrian Tyrol)...	Single women and widows paying taxes were given a vote.
1910	Ginter Park, Va.....	Tax-paying women, a vote on all municipal questions.
	Washington	Full suffrage.
	New Mexico	School suffrage.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage made universal. (Three-fifths of the women had had it before.)
	Bosnia	Parliamentary vote to women owning a certain amount of real estate.
	Diet of the Crown Province of Krahn (Austria)	Suffrage to the women of its capital city, Laibach.
	India. (Gaekwar of Baroda)	Women of his dominions vote in municipal elections.
	Wurtemberg, Kingdom of	Women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the Chamber of agriculture. Also eligible.
	New York.....	Women in all towns, villages and third-class cities vote on bonding propositions.
1911	California	Full suffrage.
	Honduras	Municipal suffrage in capital city. Belize.
	Iceland	Parliamentary suffrage for women over 25 years.

North American Review. 175: 800-10. December, 1902.

Woman's Half-Century of Evolution. Susan B. Anthony.

The status of woman in the United States fifty years ago, the progressive steps by which it has been improved, present conditions, future probabilities—in fact, a résumé of the great movement in which Elizabeth Cady Stanton has been the central figure through two generations—this is the sub-

ject assigned me to consider in the brief space of one magazine article!

The title I claim for Mrs. Stanton is that of leader of women. Women do not enjoy one privilege to-day beyond those possessed by their foremothers, which was not demanded by her before the present generation was born. Her published speeches will verify this statement. In the light of the present, it seems natural that she should have made those first demands for women; but at the time it was done the act was far more revolutionary than was the Declaration of Independence by the colonial leaders. There had been other rebellions against the rule of kings and nobles; men from time immemorial had been accustomed to protest against injustice; but for women to take such action was without a precedent and the most daring innovation in all history. Men of old could emphasize their demands by the sword, and in the present century they have been able to do so by the ballot. While they might, indeed, put their lives in peril, they were always supported by a certain amount of sympathy from the public. Women could neither fight nor vote; they were not sustained even by those of their own sex; and, while they incurred no physical risk, they imperilled their reputation and subjected themselves to mental and spiritual crucifixion. Therefore I hold that the calling of that first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848 by Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott and two or three other brave Quaker women, was one of the most courageous acts on record.

It must be remembered that at this time a woman's convention never had been heard of, with the exception of the few which had been called, early in the anti-slavery movement, by the women who had been driven out of the men's meetings and had formed their own society; but even these were almost wholly managed by men. A few individual women had publicly advocated equality of rights—the number could be more than counted on one's fingers—but a convention for this purpose and an organized demand had been till then undreamed of. The vigor and scope of the declara-

tion of sentiments which was presented and adopted at this memorable meeting, held at Mrs. Stanton's home, in Seneca Falls, New York, are in nowise diminished by comparison with the declaration of the forefathers proclaimed exactly seventy-two years before. It began, indeed, with the preamble of the Declaration of Independence, substituting "women" for "men" and "colonies"; and it continued:

"The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

"He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

"He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she has no voice.

"He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

"Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

"He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

"He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

"He has made her morally an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty and to administer chastisement.

"He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of woman—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

"After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

"He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

"He has closed against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. In theology, medicine, and law she is not known.

"He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education—all colleges being closed against her.

"He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

"He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

"He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming

it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

"He has endeavored in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

"Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because woman do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

"In entering upon the great work before us we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the state and national legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this convention will be followed by a series of conventions, embracing every part of the country."

"Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right and the True, we do this day affix our signatures to this declaration."

To emphasize these most radical sentiments the following resolutions also were adopted:

"The great precept of nature is conceded to be, 'that man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness.' Blackstone, in his Commentaries, remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their validity and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore,

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity; for this is 'superior in obligation to any other.'

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator—and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who en-

courage by their attendance her appearance on the stage, in the concert or in feats of the circus.

Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth, growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood and at war with the interests of mankind."

In all the conventions which have been held during the past fifty-four years, the impassioned addresses made, the resolutions presented, the hearings before legislative bodies, there has been nothing to add to these declarations made by a woman only thirty-three years old, born and bred in the midst of the most rigid social, civil and religious conservatism. They illustrate vividly the conditions which existed in that day, when the simplest rudiments of education were deemed sufficient for women; when only a half-dozen unremunerative employments were open to them and any work outside the home placed a stigma on the worker; when a woman's right to speak in public was more bitterly contested than her right to the suffrage is to-day. The storm of ridicule and denunciation which broke over the heads of the women who took part in this convention never has been exceeded in the coarsest and most vituperative political campaign ever conducted. The attacks were led by the pulpit, whose influence fifty years ago was far greater than at present and whose power over women was supreme. The press of the country did not suffer itself to be outdone; but, taking its cue from the metropolitan papers of New York, contributed its full quota of caricature and misrepresentation.

At the beginning of 1848, the English Common Law was in force practically everywhere in the United States. Its treatment of women was a blot on civilization only equalled in blackness by the slavery of the negro. The latter, technically at least, has now disappeared. The former dies slowly, because it cannot be eradicated by fire and sword. Lord Coke called this Common Law "the perfection of reason." Under its provisions the position of the wife was thus stated by Blackstone:

"The very being or existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband, under whose wing, protection and covert she performs everything. She is, therefore, called in our Law-French a *femme-covert*, is said to be *covert-baron*, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her baron or lord.

"The husband also, by the old law, might give his wife, moderate correction. For, as he is to answer for her misbehavior, the law thought it reasonable to intrust him with this power of restraining her by domestic chastisement in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his apprentices or children. But this power of correction was confined within reasonable bounds, and the husband was prohibited from using any violence to his wife, except as lawfully and reasonably belongs to a husband for the sake of governing and disciplining his wife. The Civil Law gave the husband the same or a larger authority over his wife, allowing him for some misdemeanors to beat his wife severely with whips and cudgels; for others only to administer moderate chastisement."

Other provisions of this law were as follows:

"By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law, that is, the legal existence of the woman is merged in that of her husband. He is her baron or lord, bound to supply her with shelter, food, clothing and medicine, and is entitled to her earnings and the use and custody of her person, which he may seize wherever he may find it."

"The husband, being bound to provide for his wife the necessaries of life, and being responsible for her morals and the good order of the household, may choose and govern the domicile, select her associates, separate her from her relatives, restrain her religious and personal freedom, compel her to cohabit with him, correct her faults by mild means, and, if necessary, chastise her with moderation, as though she was his apprentice or child. This is in respect to the terms of the marriage contract and the infirmity of the sex."

It does not seem necessary to add further particulars as to the condition of women in the middle of the century just closed and at the time Elizabeth Cady Stanton began the almost superhuman task of setting them free from the bondage of centuries. The first cleft in the infamy of the Common Law was made almost simultaneously by the legislatures of New York, and Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1848, by

special statutes giving a married woman the right to hold property. This was the first glimmer of freedom from legal slavery which ever had appeared to women; and it is not surprising that it scarcely penetrated the darkness in which they had been enveloped for untold ages, or that they rejected with scorn those who came to deliver them.

To follow in detail the steps by which women have reached their present position of comparative social, educational, financial and legal independence, would be to write a chapter for each of the fifty years which have intervened since the first few brave souls dared lift up their voices in a cry for liberty. The organized movement for the emancipation of women began in earnest soon after the close of the Civil War. Every one of the past thirty-five years has witnessed the breaking of a link in the chain. The going forth of hundreds of thousands of men from the farm, the work-shop, the factory, the store—from every field of employment—to swell the ranks of the army, made it absolutely necessary for women to step into their places in order that the countless wheels of the world's work should not stop. The vacancies left by those who never returned, and the rapidly-growing tendency to remove domestic products from the home to the factory, practically settled the question of woman's entering the wage-earning occupations.

The period immediately after the war was marked by the speedy increase and enlargement of state universities and the admission of women. Their example was followed by many of the other colleges and universities of the country, and in 1890 by the founding of the two great endowed institutions, Stanford and Chicago, with the admission of women to every department. Although the latter has just made the egregious blunder of modifying its original plan, this action represents only the individual scheme of one man and not a reactionary tendency. The question of the higher education of woman may be regarded as decided in her favor.

The right of women to organize for public work is now universally recognized and approved. They have at present in the United States over one hundred national organizations,

with thousands of local clubs and societies comprising millions of members, and their influence over the general conditions of the various communities is beyond computation. The right of women to speak in public is not only everywhere conceded but, given a man and a woman with equal abilities, the average audience would prefer to hear the latter.

The legal features of the revolution have been quite as marked as its other phases. An examination, doubtless, would show that in not one state does the Common Law now prevail in its entirety. In many of them it has been largely obliterated by special statutes. There has been no retrogressive legislation with respect to the status of women before the law. In the majority of the states, a married woman may now own and control property, carry on business and possess her earnings, make a will and a contract, bring suit in her own name, act as administrator and testify in the courts. In one-fifth of the states, she has equal guardianship with the father over the minor children. Where formerly there was but one clause for divorce, the wife may now obtain a divorce in almost every state for habitual drunkenness, cruelty, failure to provide and desertion on the part of the husband; and he can no longer, as of old even though the guilty party, retain sole possession of the children and the property. The general tendency of legislation for women is progressive, and there is not a doubt that this will continue to be the case.

I do not wish to be understood for a moment, however, as maintaining that woman stands on a perfect equality with men in any of the above-mentioned departments—in the industries, education, organization, public speaking or the laws. She simply has made immense gains in all, and her standing has been completely revolutionized since Mrs. Stanton announced the beginning of a new Reformation. Woman never will have equality of rights anywhere, she never will hold those she now has by an absolute tenure, until she possesses the fundamental right of self-representation. This fact is so obvious as to need no argument. Had this

right been conceded at the start, the others would have speedily followed; and the leaders among women, instead of spending the last half-century in a constant struggle to obtain their civil and political rights, might have contributed their splendid services to the general upbuilding and strengthening of the government. The effort for this most important of rights has had to contend not only, like the rest, with the obstinate prejudices and customs of the ages, but also with the still more stubborn condition of its hard and fast intrenchment in constitutional law. It is not merely a board of trustees or a body of legislators who must be converted to the justice of extending this right to women, but also the great masses of men, including the ignorant, the foreign-born, the small-minded and the vicious. A majority of the men in every state must give their consent at the ballot box for women to come into possession of this paramount right. Such has not been the case with any other step in the progress of women.

It is not necessary to consider the minor reasons why the enfranchisement of women has been so long deferred; but, in spite of the almost insuperable obstacles, there has been considerable progress in this direction. In some states, the legislatures themselves can confer a fragmentary suffrage without the ratification of the voters. This has been done in about half of them, Kansas granting the municipal franchise, Louisiana, Montana, and New York, a taxpayers' franchise, and twenty-two states a vote on matters connected with the public schools. Within the last twelve years, four states have conferred the full suffrage on women—Wyoming and Utah by placing it in the constitutions under which they entered statehood; Colorado and Idaho through a submission of the question to the voters. There is a strong basis for believing that within a few years several other states will take similar action.

The effect upon women themselves of these enlarged opportunities in every direction has been a development which is almost a regeneration. The capability they have shown in the realm of higher education, their achievements

in the business world, their capacity for organization, their executive power, have been a revelation. To set women back into the limited sphere of fifty years ago would be to arrest the progress of the whole race. Their evolution has been accompanied by a corresponding development in the moral nature of man, his ideas of temperance and chastity, his sense of justice, his relations to society. In no department of the world's activities are the higher qualities so painfully lacking as in politics, and this is the only one from which women are wholly excluded. Is it not perfectly logical to assume that their influence would be as beneficial here as it has been everywhere else? Does not logic also justify the opinion that, as they have been admitted into every other channel, the political gateways must inevitably be opened?

Review of Reviews. 44: 725-9. December, 1911.

World Movement for Woman Suffrage. Ida H. Harper.

In 1888, when Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the leaders of this movement in the United States, where it began, attempted to coöperate with other countries, they found that in only one—Great Britain—had it taken organized shape. By 1902, however, it was possible to form an International Committee, in Washington, D. C., with representatives from five countries. Two years later, in Berlin, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was formed with accredited delegates from organizations in nine countries. This Alliance held a congress in Stockholm during the past summer with delegates from national associations in twenty-four countries where the movement for the enfranchisement of women has taken definite, organized form.

The United States

At the November election, 1910, the men of Washington, by a vote of three to one, enfranchised the women of that state. Eleven months later, in October, 1911, a majority

of the voters conferred the suffrage on the 400,000 women of California. These two elections doubtless marked the turning point in this country. In 1890 Wyoming came into the Union with suffrage for women in its constitution after they had been voting in the territory for twenty-one years. In 1893 the voters of Colorado, by a majority of 6347, gave full suffrage to women. In 1895 the men of Utah, where as a territory women had voted seventeen years, by a vote of 28,618 ayes to 2687 noes, gave them this right in its constitution for statehood. In 1896 Idaho, by a majority of 5844, fully enfranchised its women.

It was believed then that woman suffrage would soon be carried in all the western states, but at this time there began a period of complete domination of politics by the commercial interests of the country, through whose influence the power of the party "machines" became absolute. Temperance, tariff reform, control of monopolies, all moral issues were relegated to the background and woman suffrage went with the rest. To the vast wave of "insurgency" against these conditions is due its victory in Washington and California. It seems impossible that Oregon, which is to pass on the question next year, will longer withhold the ballot from women. Kansas and Wisconsin also have submitted it to the election of 1912, with a good chance of success especially in the former. As many women are already fully enfranchised in this country as would be made voters by the suffrage bill now under consideration in Great Britain, so that American women taken as a whole cannot be put into a secondary position as regards political rights. While women householders in Great Britain and Ireland have the municipal franchise, a much larger number in this country have a partial suffrage—the municipal in Kansas; a vote on questions of special taxation, bonds, etc., in Louisiana, Iowa, Montana, Michigan and in the villages and many third-class cities in New York, and school suffrage in over half of the states.

Great Britain

The situation in Great Britain is now at its most acute stage. There the question never goes to the voters but is decided by Parliament. Seven times a woman suffrage bill has passed its second reading in the House of Commons by a large majority, only to be refused a third and final reading by the Premier, who represents the ministry, technically known as the government. In 1910 the bill received a majority of 110, larger than was secured even for the budget, the government's chief measure. In 1911 the majority was 167, and again the last reading was refused. The vote was wholly nonpartisan—145 Liberals, 53 Unionists, 31 Nationalists (Irish), 26 Labor members. Ninety town and county councils, including those of Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin and those of all the large cities sent petitions to Parliament to grant the final vote. The Lord Mayor of Dublin in his robes of state appeared before the House of Commons with the same plea, but the Liberal government was unmoved.

In the passing years petitions aggregating over four million signatures have been sent in. Just before the recent election the Conservative national association presented one signed by 300,000 voters. In their processions and Hyde Park gatherings the women have made the largest political demonstrations in history. There have been more meetings held, more money raised and more workers enlisted than to obtain suffrage for the men of the entire world.

From the beginning the various associations have asked for the franchise on the same terms as granted to men, not all of whom can vote. For political reasons it seemed impossible to obtain this, and meanwhile the so-called "militant" movement was inaugurated by women outraged at the way the measure had been put aside for nearly forty years. The treatment of these women by the government forms one of the blackest pages in English history, and the situation finally became so alarming that the Parliament was obliged to take action. A Conciliation committee was formed of

sixty members from all parties who prepared a bill that would enfranchise only women householders, those who already had possessed the municipal franchise since 1869. This does not mean property owners, but includes women who may pay rent for only one room. The associations accepted it partly because it recognized the principle that sex should not disqualify, but principally because it was unquestionably all that they could get at present. This is the bill which has been denied a third reading for two years on the ground that it was not democratic enough! A careful canvass has shown that in the different parts of the United Kingdom from 80 to 90 per cent of those whom it would enfranchise are wage or salary-earning women, and not one Labor member of Parliament voted against it. Unable any longer to withstand the pressure Premier Asquith gave the pledge of the ministry that full facilities for the bill should be allowed at the next session of Parliament.

His sudden announcement on November 7, that the Government would bring in a manhood suffrage bill—one vote for every adult male but none for women—has altered the whole situation, and the struggle for the conciliation bill will probably be changed to one for recognition of women in this new measure.

Women in England have been eligible for school boards since 1870; have had the county franchise since 1888; have been eligible for parish and district councils and for various boards and commissions since 1894, and hundreds have served in the above offices. In 1907, as recommended in the address of King Edward, women were made eligible as mayors and county and city councillors, or aldermen. Three or four have been elected mayors, and women are now sitting on the councils of London, Manchester, and other cities. The municipal franchise was conferred on the women of Scotland in 1882, and of Ireland in 1898.

The Irishwomen's Franchise league demands that the proposed home rule bill shall give to the women of Ireland the same political rights as it gives to men. This demand is strongly supported by many of the Nationalist members of

Parliament and some of the cabinet, and it is not impossible that after all these years of oppression the women of Ireland may be fully enfranchised before those of England, Scotland, and Wales.

In the Isle of Man women property owners have had the full suffrage since 1881, and women rate- or rent-payers, since 1892.

English Colonies

The Parliament of New Zealand gave school suffrage to women in 1877, municipal in 1886, and parliamentary in 1893. It was the first country in the world to grant the complete universal franchise to women.

The six states of Australia had municipal suffrage for women from the early days of their self-government. South Australia gave them the right to vote for its state parliament, or legislature, in 1894, and West Australia took similar action in 1899. The States federated in a Commonwealth in 1902 and almost the first act of its national parliament was to give the suffrage for its members to all women and make them eligible to membership. New South Wales immediately conferred state suffrage on women, and was soon followed by Tasmania and Queensland. Victoria yielded in 1909. Women of Australia have now exactly the same franchise rights as men.

In all the provinces of Canada for the last twenty years widows and spinsters who are rate-payers or property owners have had the school or municipal suffrage, in some instances both, and in a few this right is given to married women. There has been some effort to have this extended to state and federal suffrage, but with little force except in Toronto, where in 1909 a thousand women stormed the House of Parliament, with a petition signed by 100,000 names.

When the South African Union was formed its constitution took away from women tax-payers the fragmentary vote they possessed. Petitions to give them the complete suffrage, signed by 4000 men and women, were ignored.

Franchise leagues are working in Cape Colony, Natal, and the Transvaal, and their efforts are supported by General Botha, the premier; General Smuts, Minister of the Interior; Mr. Cronwright, husband of Olive Schreiner, and other members of Parliament, but the great preponderance of Boer women over English will prevent this English controlled body from enfranchising women in the near future.

There are cities in India where women property owners have a vote in municipal affairs.

Scandinavia

Parliament of Norway in 1901 granted municipal suffrage to all women who in the country districts pay taxes on an income of 300 crowns (about \$75), and in the cities on one of 400 crowns; and they were made eligible to serve on councils and grand and petit juries. After strenuous effort on the part of women the Parliament of 1907, by a vote of 96 to 23, conferred the complete franchise on all who possessed the municipal. This included about 300,000 of the half-million women. They were made eligible for Parliament, and at the first election in 1909 one was elected as alternate or deputy, and last year took her seat with a most enthusiastic welcome from the other members. In 1910, by a vote of 71 to 10, the tax-paying qualification for the municipal vote was removed. In 1911, a bill to abolish it for the full suffrage was carried by a large majority in Parliament, but lacked five votes of the necessary two-thirds. It will pass next year. More than twice as many women as voted in 1907 went to the polls in 1910 at the municipal elections. Last year 178 women were elected to city councils, nine to that of Christiania. This year 210 were elected and 379 alternates to fill vacancies that may occur.

Sweden gave municipal suffrage to tax-paying widows and spinsters in 1862. At that time and for many years afterward not one-tenth of the men had a vote. Then came the rise of the Liberal party and the Social Democracy, and by 1909 the new franchise law had been enacted, which immensely increased the number of men voters, extended the

municipal suffrage to wives, greatly reduced the tax qualification, and made women eligible to all offices for which they could vote. At the last election 37 were elected to the councils of 34 towns, 11 in the five largest. The Woman suffrage association is said to be the best organized body in the country, its branches extending beyond the Arctic Circle. It has over 12,000 paid members and has held 1550 meetings within a year. In 1909 a bill to extend the full suffrage to women passed the second chamber of the Parliament unanimously, but was defeated by four to one in the first chamber representing the aristocracy. This year the Suffrage association made a strong campaign for the Liberal and Social Democratic parties, and a large majority of their candidates were elected. The Conservative cabinet was deposed and the King has called for a new election of the first chamber. As its members are chosen by the provincial councils and those of the five largest cities, and women have a vote for these bodies and are members of them, they will greatly reduce the number of Conservative members of the upper house. On the final passage of a suffrage bill the two chambers must vote jointly and it seems assured of a majority. It looks as if Sweden would be the next country to enfranchise women.

Denmark may claim this honor. Her Parliament in 1908 gave the municipal suffrage to women on the same terms as exercised by men—that is, to all over 25 years of age who pay any taxes. Property owned by husband or wife or in common entitles each to a vote. At the first election 68 per cent of all the enfranchised women in the country, and 70 per cent in Copenhagen, voted. Seven were elected to the city council of 42 members and one was afterward appointed to fill a vacancy, and 127 were elected in other places. Women serve on all committees and are chairmen of important ones; two are city treasurers. There are two suffrage associations whose combined membership makes the organization of that country in proportion to population the largest of the kind in the world. They have 314 local branches and one of the associations has held 1100 meetings during the

past year. The Lower House of Parliament has passed a bill to give women the complete franchise, which has not been acted on by the Upper House, composed mainly of the aristocracy. The Prime Minister and the Speakers of both houses are outspoken in advocacy of enfranchising women, but political considerations are holding it back. All say, however, that it will come in the near future.

Iceland, a dependency of Denmark, with its own Parliament, gave municipal suffrage in 1882 to all widows and spinsters who were householders or maintained a family, or were self-supporting. In 1902 it made these voters eligible to all municipal offices, and since then a fourth of the council members of Reykjavik, the capital, have been women. In 1909 this franchise was extended to all those who pay taxes. A petition signed by a large majority of all the women in Iceland asked for the complete suffrage, and during the present year the Parliament voted to give this to all women over 25 years old. It must be acted upon by a second Parliament, but its passage is assured, and Icelandic women will vote on the same terms as men in 1913.

Russia and Her Dependencies

First place must be given to the Grand Duchy of Finland, far more advanced than any other part of the empire. In 1905, by permission of the Czar, after a wonderful uprising of the people, they reorganized their government and combined the four antiquated chambers of their Diet into one body. The next year, on demand of thousands of women expressed by petitions and public meetings, this new Parliament, almost without a dissenting voice, conferred the full suffrage on all women. Since that time from 16 to 25 have been elected to the different Parliaments by all the political parties.

In Russia women as well as men are struggling for political freedom. In many of the villages wives cast the votes for their husbands when the latter are away; women have some suffrage for the zemstvos, local governing bodies; the Duma has tried to enlarge their franchise rights, but at present these are submerged in the general chaos.

In Poland an active League for woman's rights is coöperating with the Democratic party of men.

Austria-Hungary and the Balkans

A very strong movement for woman suffrage is proceeding against great difficulties in the seventeen provinces of Austria, where almost as many languages are spoken and the bitterest racial feuds exist. Women are not allowed to form political associations or hold public meetings, but 4000 have paraded the streets of Vienna demanding the suffrage. In Bohemia since 1864 women have had a vote for members of the Diet and are eligible to sit in it. In all the municipalities outside of Prague and Liberic, women taxpayers and those of the learned professions may vote by proxy. Women belong to all the political parties except the Conservative and constitute 40 per cent of the Agrarian party. They are well organized to secure the full suffrage and are holding hundreds of meetings and distributing thousands of pamphlets. In Bosnia and Herzegovina women property owners vote by proxy.

In Hungary the National woman suffrage association includes many societies having other aims also, and it has branches in 87 towns and cities, combining all classes of women from the aristocracy to the peasants. Men are in a turmoil there to secure universal suffrage for themselves and women are with them in the thick of the fight. The International woman suffrage alliance will meet in Budapest in 1913.

Bulgaria has a Woman suffrage association composed of 37 auxiliaries and it held 456 meetings during the past year.

In Servia women have a fragmentary local vote and are now organizing to claim the parliamentary franchise.

Germany

It was not until 1908 that the law was changed which forbade women to take part in political meetings, and since then the Woman suffrage societies, which existed only in the free

cities, have multiplied rapidly. Most of them are concentrating on the municipal franchise, which those of Prussia claim already belongs to them by an ancient law. In a number of the states women landowners have a proxy vote in communal matters, but have seldom availed themselves of it. In Silesia this year, to the amazement of everybody, 2000 exercised this privilege. The powerful Social Democratic party stands solidly for enfranchising women.

The Netherlands and Belgium

A few years ago when the Liberal party was in power it prepared to revise the constitution and make woman suffrage one of its provisions. In 1907 the Conservatives carried the election and blocked all further progress. Two active suffrage associations approximate a membership of 8000, with nearly 200 branches, and are building up public sentiment.

Belgium in 1910 gave women a vote for members of the Board of Trade, an important tribunal, and made them eligible to serve on it. A woman suffrage society is making considerable progress.

Switzerland and Italy

Switzerland has had a woman suffrage association only a few years. Geneva and Zurich in 1911 made women eligible to their boards of trade with a vote for its members, and Geneva gave them a vote in all matters connected with the state church.

Italy has a well-supported movement for woman suffrage, and a discussion in Parliament showed a strong sentiment in favor. Mayor Nathan, of Rome, is an outspoken advocate. In 1910 all women in trade were made voters for boards of trade.

France

The woman suffrage movement in France differs from that of most other countries in the number of prominent men in politics connected with it. President Fallières loses no opportunity to speak in favor and leading members of the

ministry and the Parliament approve it. Committees have several times reported a bill, and that of M. Dussaussoy giving all women a vote for municipal, district and general councils was reported with full parliamentary suffrage added. Last year 163 members asked to have the bill taken up. Finally it was decided to have a committee investigate the practical working of woman suffrage in the countries where it existed. Its extensive and very favorable report has just been published, and the woman suffrage association states that it expects early action by Parliament. More than one-third of the wage-earners of France are women, and these may vote for tribunes and chambers of commerce and boards of trade. They may be members of the last named and serve as judges.

Portugal, Spain, and Other Countries

The constitution of the new Republic of Portugal gave "universal" suffrage, and Dr. Beatrice Angelo applied for registration, which was refused. She carried her case to the courts, her demand was sustained and she cast her vote. It was too late for other women to register, but an organization of 1000 women was at once formed to secure definite action of Parliament, with the approval of President Braga and several members of his cabinet.

The Spanish Chamber has proposed to give women heads of families in the villages a vote for mayor and council.

A bill to give suffrage to women was recently introduced in the Parliament of Persia but was ruled out of order by the president because the Koran says women have no souls.

Siam has lately adopted a constitution which gives women a municipal vote.

Several women voted in place of their husbands at the recent election in Mexico. Belize, the capital of British Honduras, has just given the right to women to vote for town council.

Throughout the entire world is an unmistakable tendency to accord women a voice in the government, and, strange to say, this is stronger in monarchies than in republics. In Eu-

rope the republics of France and Switzerland give almost no suffrage to women. Norway and Finland, where they have the complete franchise; Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, and Great Britain, where they have all but the parliamentary, and that close at hand, are monarchies. New Zealand and Australia, where women are fully enfranchised, are dependencies of a monarchical government.

Independent. 71: 967-70. November 2, 1911.

Woman Suffrage in Six States. Ida H. Harper.

When on November 8, 1910, the state of Washington, by a very large majority vote of its electors, gave the complete franchise to women citizens the subject of woman suffrage passed from the stage of academic discussion to that of a live, practical question; and when on October 10, 1911, California fully enfranchised the women of that state it became one of the political issues of the day. This fact was evident at once in the attitude of the press, which in its news reports gave woman suffrage equal if not superior place to the referendum, recall and other important constitutional amendments which were passed upon at this recent California election. It was equally noticeable in the editorials, especially of papers heretofore opposed, such, for instance, as the *New York Tribune*, which said: "Now that Washington with 1,142,000 population, and California with 2,377,000, have shown their desire to put the political equality idea into practice, the pressure behind it will become more acute and the larger and older states will have to take more serious notice of its existence."

The experiment heretofore in the United States has been made in the four comparatively new and sparsely settled states of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, where women are greatly outnumbered by men and no large cities exist with their complicated political and social problems. While it is true that human nature is the same everywhere, yet it must be admitted that in these four states there has not been

an opportunity for such a real test of woman suffrage as would be necessary to influence the older and more thickly populated ones. Denver, with a little less than 214,000 inhabitants, has afforded the most conspicuous example for study.

Now that the question of woman suffrage is to receive more attention it may be of interest to examine its history in the United States up to date. The very first demand for it was made by women of Eastern States, which will be the last to grant it—Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, of New York; Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia; Lucy Stone, of Boston, and a score or two more of the most distinguished women of sixty years ago. The first recognition of the principle by any state was made by progressive Kansas, which came into the Union in 1861 with school suffrage for women in its Constitution. No further advance was made until 1869, when the first legislative council was in session after the organization of Wyoming as a territory. Mrs. Esther Morris, who with her husband had gone out from New York as a pioneer, appealed to the president of the council Col. William H. Bright, for a bill enfranchising women. She was sustained by his wife, and he succeeded in having the bill passed. The council was Democratic and it hoped to embarrass the Republican Governor, John A. Campbell, whom it expected to veto the bill. On the contrary, he signed it; and when two years later the council repealed it he vetoed the repeal. The council was unable to pass it over his veto and no effort to abolish woman suffrage was ever again made in Wyoming. Mrs. Morris was appointed justice of the peace, and of the nearly forty cases she tried, none ever was appealed to a higher court. Women sat on juries from the beginning and have continued to fill various offices down to the present day.

In 1889 a convention composed entirely of men met to form a constitution for statehood, and after twenty years' experience they adopted unanimously as its first clause "equal political rights for all male and female citizens." The constitution was ratified by more than a three-fourths ma-

majority of the people and sent to Congress for approval. That body, always hostile to the enfranchisement of women, fought for three days to have this first clause eliminated and the territorial delegate telegraphed to Wyoming that it looked as if this would have to be done. The Legislature, which was in session, wired back, "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without woman suffrage." The same struggle took place in the United States Senate and pages of the Congressional Record were filled with awful senatorial prophecies as to what would happen to the country if Wyoming should come into the Union with women voters. After days of oratory they were obliged to face the calamity, and President Harrison signed the bill admitting the new state in June, 1890. Thus Wyoming became the first commonwealth in the world's history to grant to women the same rights in the government that men possessed. The official statistics show that about 90 per cent of the women qualified cast their votes at the annual elections. Not one man of prominence has ever voiced publicly the slightest opposition, while volumes of favorable testimony from those eminent in all departments of the state's activities have been published. Again and again the Legislature has adopted resolutions expressing the highest approval of woman suffrage, urging other states to adopt it and calling upon Congress to submit an amendment of the National Constitution to the various legislatures.

We come now to the second state which has fully enfranchised women—Colorado. When it made its constitution for statehood in 1876 it refused the entreaties of the women to provide in this for their enfranchisement, but it gave them school suffrage. The curious provision was made that the Legislature of the new state might at any time by a majority, instead of the two-thirds required for amendments, enact a law to extend the suffrage without amending the Constitution, but the law must be approved by the majority of the voters; and it was ordered that such a law should be submitted at the first election after the state came into the Union. This was done in 1877 and the men, glorying

in their own newly-acquired rights, defeated the measure by a vote of two to one. The women were discouraged and the matter rested till the early '90's, when there were many more of them, and they began to organize their forces. In 1893 the Legislature was in entire control of the Populists and a woman suffrage bill was again sent to the voters. Men, too, had progressed during these years and at the November election it received a majority in favor of 6,347.

The women entered at once upon their new duties and the official records show that during all the past eighteen years they have voted in quite as large a proportion as men. They have evinced no especial desire for office, but more than a dozen have been elected to the Legislature and scores to the various county offices. The office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has always been filled by a woman. They serve on state boards and commissions and are eligible to jury service. The testimony in favor of the way they have used their ballot is overwhelming and from the highest sources—justices of the Supreme Court, governors, presidents of colleges, clergymen, editors. Not one Colorado man or woman of prominence has ever given public expression to a derogatory word. The strongest proof of the success of woman suffrage in this state, however, came ten years after it had been in operation. The suffrage clause in the Constitution permitted immigrants to vote on their first papers and six months' residence. An amendment was submitted in 1903 requiring a year's residence and using the words "he or she." It was adopted by 18,000 majority and it safely entrenched woman suffrage in the constitution of the state. With the Populist party eliminated the vote for it was three times as large as before it had been tried. If this increase was due to the women it showed they appreciated their voting power and wished to make it secure; if it was due to men it proved they were satisfied. In either case the result was decisive.

In 1895, two years after the Colorado victory, a convention of Utah men assembled to make a constitution for statehood. The Legislature in 1870 had given full suffrage

to women—as it had power to do in a territory—and they had used it largely until 1887. That year Congress, thru some inscrutable logic, took away the franchise from all the women, Gentile as well as Mormon, to stop the practice of polygamy! This convention was composed of both Gentiles and Mormons, and after a thoro discussion a strong woman suffrage plank was put into the new Constitution. At the November election it was submitted to Gentile and Mormon voters and carried by 28,618 ayes, 2,687 noes. This was the answer of Utah men after an experience with woman suffrage of seventeen years. This Constitution received no objection by Congress. The women of this state were far better organized and worked much harder for their political freedom than those of any other up to that time. They have used their franchise generally and wisely; no complaints or criticisms have ever come from Utah to the contrary. Women have been sent to both houses of the Legislature, have filled state, county and city offices, served on many boards and gone as delegates to Presidential conventions.

The story of Idaho is short and there is no great struggle for the ballot to record. It was admitted into the Union in 1890. Before and after that year Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, the pioneer suffragist of Oregon, had canvassed territory and state and appealed to the Legislature and constitutional convention. She was strongly supported by individual men and women of Idaho, but there was no organized effort until 1893. The Republicans were in full control of the Legislature in 1895 and the resolution to submit an amendment was almost unanimous. The next year Republican, Democratic, Populist and Free Silver party conventions endorsed it and it was carried at the November election by a vote of almost two to one. At the next election three women were sent to the Legislature; one State Superintendent of Instruction; fifteen county superintendents, four county treasurers elected. This proportion has been kept up and there have been a number of deputy sheriffs elected. There is nothing but the highest testimony as to the part of women

in the politics of the state. They constitute 42 per cent of the population and by the official statistics they cast 40 per cent of the vote in Boise, the capital, and over 35 per cent in the rest of the state. The hardships of getting to the polls thru the snow and over the mountains can hardly be described. Women sometimes ride twenty miles on horseback to vote.

After this gain of four states in six years by the suffragists the opponents took active measures to prevent the submission of the question in other states. In the few cases where this was done the combination of corporations, liquor interests and party "machines" was impossible to overcome. The domination of politics by these forces was so complete that there was no chance for any moral questions, and nothing was left but the slow process of educating public sentiment to demand that the voice of women should be heard in this wilderness. Then came the great "insurgent" movement in the western states and, as the direct result, the submitting of a woman suffrage amendment in 1910 by almost unanimous vote of the Washington Legislature. Here again there had been practical experience. In 1883 the Territorial Legislature gave to women the full rights of the ballot and at the spring election and again in the autumn they cast one-fourth of the votes, altho there were less than one-third as many women as men in the territory. During the three and a half years that they possessed the suffrage the official returns several times showed a larger percentage of women than of men voting, even with all the physical handicaps of these pioneer days. In 1886, some question of constitutionality having arisen, the Legislature strengthened the act. In 1887 the vicious elements secured a court verdict that the bill was not properly titled and the Legislature passed it a third time perfect in every respect.

A convention was about to prepare a constitution for statehood and these elements were determined it should not include woman suffrage. It was arranged that at the spring election of 1889 the vote of a certain saloon keeper's wife should be refused. Her case was rushed thru to the Supreme

Court, and two out of three members decided that the equal suffrage law was void because a territorial legislature had no right to extend the suffrage! The very act under which Washington was organized specifically gave it this right, and under a similar act women had voted twenty-one years in the territory of Wyoming and seventeen in that of Utah. This decision is only matched by that in the Dred Scott case in 1857. The women were illegally disfranchised, they were excluded from the new Constitution and all they could obtain was the submission that year of woman suffrage as a separate question. They were not themselves allowed to vote on it and it was said to be defeated by over 19,000. Nine years later, in 1898, the women summoned courage to make another campaign and then the majority against them was announced to be considerably less than 10,000. Years afterward a man who had taken part in them stated publicly that the most barefaced frauds were committed and that the amendment really had been carried.

In 1910 came the political revolution in Washington, where the voters threw off the "machine" yoke and honest men of all parties secured a free election and a fair count. The women made the ablest campaign for the suffrage ever known, with the splendid result that it was carried in every county in the state and received a majority of nearly three to one—the largest victory ever achieved. The way in which they registered by the tens of thousands in Seattle the following month, "recalled" the Mayor, turned out the council and chief of police and regenerated the city—and later performed the same service for Tacoma—this is of too recent date to need extended mention. It advanced the cause of woman suffrage thruout the whole country and across the ocean on either side.

The first results were seen in California, which in the state at large had been swept clean of its corrupt political forces by the great wave of insurgency. The press representatives who had been going to Sacramento for years said they never had seen so able, sincere and upright a body of men as the legislators who submitted the reform amend-

ments, all of which were adopted at the recent election, including woman suffrage. The women remembered with anguish of spirit the magnificent campaign they had made in 1896 only to be betrayed and sold by the political leaders. With largely augmented numbers and full of faith in the new order they made the fight, but it required the decent men of the whole state to overcome the corrupt vote of San Francisco and Oakland. Now in a state that has been in the Union over sixty years, and in several big cities, we shall have the supreme test of woman suffrage. Will another year see victory in Oregon and women enfranchised on the entire Pacific Coast?

Harper's Bazar. 46: 148. March, 1912.

Votes for Women: Victory Coming in Sweden.

Ida H. Harper.

In opening the new Parliament the King has announced that the government will present a bill for this purpose [total enfranchisement of women], and as the government means the party in power, this bill is sure to pass. At the elections last fall the Conservatives were voted out of office and the Liberals and Social Democrats were voted in. The women of the Suffrage association worked very hard to achieve this result, as the Conservatives had defeated their bill more than once and intended to keep on doing so, while the other parties were pledged to its support.

No women more fully deserve the franchise than those of Sweden. They have worked for many years to obtain it, and it is said that a larger proportion are enrolled in the Suffrage association than in any other country. In their never-ceasing efforts they have used always the most orderly and dignified methods, appealing to man's sense of justice and standing on their right to a voice in their own government. For half a century tax-paying widows and unmarried

women have had the municipal franchise, and a few years ago this was extended to wives and all women were made eligible to the offices for which they could vote. At the last election thirty-five were elected to city councils, nine to that of Stockholm. Until three or four years ago only a small proportion of men possessed the suffrage, but then the tax-paying qualification was made so small that now not more than one-fourth of the men are disfranchised. Women will be admitted to the electorate on the same terms as men, and doubtless in the near future all restrictions for both will be abolished.

This proposed act of the Swedish Parliament will hasten the day when all the women of the Scandinavian countries will be fully enfranchised. In all of them now they have everything but the parliamentary suffrage, that is, in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. In Norway they have the complete franchise with a very small tax-paying qualification which will probably be removed by the present Parliament. It has just passed a bill making women eligible to all public offices except that of membership in the king's cabinet, those of the state church and those in the diplomatic and military service. They were already eligible as members of Parliament and one was elected last year. Hundreds have been elected to town and county councils. A number are sitting on the council in Copenhagen and other cities in Denmark, while one-third of the council of Reyjavik, the capital of Iceland, is composed of women. A bill to give women the full suffrage has passed one Icelandic Parliament and is sure to have its final passage in the next. A similar bill has twice been adopted by the Danish Lower House and will ultimately get through the Upper House, which is largely composed of the aristocracy. Thus it will be seen that political freedom for the women of Scandinavia is near at hand.

Harper's Bazar. 46: 258. May, 1912.

Votes for Women. Ida H. Harper.

In our own country there is encouragement on every side. The Kentucky Legislature by a large majority in both Houses has granted to all women who can read and write a vote on all matters connected with the public schools and eligibility to all school affairs. The most significant feature of this victory is that the bill was sponsored by the State federation of women's clubs.

The convention of 119 men, sitting at Columbus, Ohio, to remodel the constitution of that state, has voted more than two to one to add an amendment giving full suffrage to women. All amendments must be acted upon by the electors and this one must run the risk of defeat.

In Wisconsin, Michigan, Kansas and Oregon constitutional amendments have been submitted to confer the complete suffrage on women, and these will be voted on in November. In Oregon the suffragists are receiving an unusual amount of assistance from men, who have formed a strong Men's suffrage league. They feel that it is high time they should do for the women of their state what the men of California to the south, Washington the north and Idaho to the east have done, and it is almost unthinkable that they would allow the enemies of woman suffrage to defeat the measure. Here, too, it is a great joy to see the women's clubs aroused to their responsibilities and allying themselves with the work of the Suffrage association.

In Kansas the wives of the governor, chief justice of the supreme court, chancellor of the university and a former governor are at the head of the organized work, while women in all parts of the state are opening a lively campaign.

Proximity in Chicago will enable Wisconsin and Michigan to have the help of that city's leading suffragists, among them the beloved Jane Addams.

The legislatures of Maryland and Virginia have rejected the woman-suffrage bills by large majorities. Over six hun-

dred of the leading women of Maryland went before that legislature and saw their bill treated with such contempt that they went home in a very "militant" state of mind. In Massachusetts, at the request of the State federation of labor, the Suffrage association gave them full charge of the bill, although assisting in the arguments before the legislators. It was defeated, of course, but by the smallest majority on record.

New York has caused the suffragists the longest contest of any state. Only a few times has it ever been possible to get the bill out of the committees so as to compel the legislators to show their colors. This winter has been one of those times, and the bill passed both houses, but was reconsidered and laid on the table. The women of New Jersey succeeded in forcing the bill out of committee and may get a vote on it. These instances show that the suffragists are gaining.

In California and Washington the women have passed beyond this phase of the struggle. They say it still seems like a dream, that it is all over, and that they can now take up the great work they have longed to do but could not because they were absorbed in trying to get the means by which to do it. They are being placed on boards and committees of all kinds and say that never before did they know the true meaning of the word "chivalry."

Woman's Journal. 43: 97. March 30, 1912.

China Grants Woman Suffrage.

Press despatches report that the Chinese National Parliament at Nankin has granted equal suffrage to the women of China, the law to take effect immediately, and that one woman, Yik Yuan Ying, a college graduate, has been elected a member of Parliament from the province of Canton. Women voters, according to this despatch, will be subject to the same restrictions as men—that is, they must be able to read and write, must be property owners, and 20 years of age.

A letter to the Boston Herald from Canton, the head and heart of the modern progressive movement in China, says:

"The Provincial Assembly, since the fire which destroyed its beautiful hall, has been meeting in the new theatre near the east end of the river front. It is composed of representative revolutionists from the different districts. As a sign of the progressive character of the people here, ten women have been seated as representatives."

Woman's Journal. 43: 223. July 27, 1912.

Portugal Gives Votes to Women.

From the new Portuguese Republic comes the report that under the Electoral law, just passed, a limited number of women in Portugal have been given the parliamentary franchise. The same law puts a property qualification on the men, but so slight a one that manhood suffrage is practically established. However, the number of women enfranchised by this law will be comparatively small because of the age limit and educational test.

About a year ago Dr. Carolina Angelo, a woman who since died, entered her name on the registry as a citizen. Her application for the vote formed a test case. The judge ruled that she was entitled to citizenship. By this legal decision women in Portugal were declared eligible for the franchise on the same grounds as men. By the new law, the Senate has now partially confirmed this legal decision by granting the vote to women over 25 years of age, who have passed a certain educational test.



AFFIRMATIVE DISCUSSION

Woman's Journal. 43: 57. February 24, 1912.

Votes for Women Should Be Granted. Joseph V. Denney.

The movement to secure equal suffrage is part of the larger movement to realize the democratic ideal in human society. Its growth is coincident with society's growing esteem for the individual.

In the progress of legislation and judicial interpretation concerning women and their rights and privileges, one fact stands out in prominence. Each concession has been an acknowledgment of individual personality. At the time when our forefathers declared that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, it was not recognized anywhere in law or in human society that a woman is a complete and self-competent personality. Now that fact has been so far established in human society and law as to warrant full governmental recognition. The mark and badge of full governmental recognition of personality is the ballot.

If full recognition is not the logical end, the granting of partial rights should never have been begun. Women should have been kept in complete subjection, higher education should have continued to be a thing denied, and the theoretical unity of every woman with some man should not have been invaded by the humane progress of legislation and legal interpretation. Logically, the granting of partial suffrage calls for the granting of complete suffrage. Most of our states have granted suffrage to women on some subjects, and six have granted complete suffrage. It is no wonder that English women, even though they have voting power on practically everything except for members of Parliament, still remain unsatisfied, nay, are more discontented

than ever before. It is no wonder that American women, who have been given a partial franchise, also want the logical process completed. They have been given rights in larger and larger measure; they have been permitted a more public sphere of ordinary activity; economic pressure has turned millions of them into bread-winners; and the social status of all of them has been so altered that the last step must now be taken or all previous steps are meaningless. They have been educated up to the very point when the last prize is just before them, and it must not be denied. They have been permitted to attain a state of self-competency, and the one mark of self-competency—the badge of sovereignty, the highest governmental recognition of individual personality—must now be conferred.

The proposal for a plebiscite of women to decide in any state whether that state should provide for their complete enfranchisement is based upon no fundamental idea of suffrage. It is not even a fundamental question to ask whether they would use the ballot if they had it. No set of people, either in America or in Europe, on the eve of possible enfranchisement, was ever required to meet such tests. Rights have always been extended on high grounds of public justice and morality, and in recognition of personality. Suffragists do not fear such tests; but the tests, if applied, would not be decisive. The case does not rest finally on the wishes of the set of people to be benefitted, or upon the use they will make of the privilege. It rests finally upon the moral obligation of a free state to recognize a person as a person. The statement of the British statesman applies with much greater force to the women of to-day than it did to any class ever before enfranchised—"A free government and a large number of people excluded from its privileges cannot exist together."

**United States. Senate. Hearings before a Joint Committee
of the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee
on Woman Suffrage. March 13, 1912. pp. 10-2.**

Statement of Mrs. Elsie C. Phillips.

There is sometimes danger in any great question of this kind, which presents a thousand phases, that we are going to lose sight of the underlying principles involved, and I think it best, even though it seems simple, to go back to first principles and consider the real basis of the ballot.

Now, the right to vote is based, first and foremost and primarily, on the democratic theory of government, the theory of government to which this country was committed in the great phrase that "The just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed." What does that mean? Does it not mean that there is no class so wise, so benevolent that it is fitted to govern for any other class, no matter how wise or benevolent that ruling class may be? Does it not mean that, in order to have a democratic government, we must be sure that every adult in the community has an opportunity to express his opinion as to how he wishes to be governed, and to have that opinion counted? A vote is, in the last analysis, an expression of a need—either a personal need known to you as an individual, as it can be known to no one else, or an expression of a need of those in whom you are interested—sister-women or children, for instance. The moment that one gets that concept of the ballot, the moment one grants that it rests on that democratic theory—upon which is based the whole claim for any adult suffrage, men or women—that moment a large part, practically all, of the antisuffrage argument is done away with. For instance, take the theory that women are "represented" by men. The theory of republican government rests, does it not, on the theory of delegated authority? Now, it is perfectly obvious to any reasonable being that one can not delegate what he never had. Until women have the vote, they can not delegate the vote. Again, even if

that were not a logical and practical impossibility, there remains the other fact that man can not know the needs of woman as women know them; and if, as is true democratically, a ballot is an expression of a need and opinion as to how that need shall be met, surely the men, having a different life experience from the women, can not adequately express woman's need or know how it should be met.

I will give an instance, right from the progressive state of Wisconsin, of which we are all justly proud. The men there are noted throughout the country for having put through the legislature the most progressive social legislation that this country has yet seen. No one doubts for a moment that the men in that progressive state desire to see justice for women just as much as for men. But there are certain frightful gaps in that legislation that show that it is impossible for men, with the best intentions in the world, to understand and legislate for the needs of women. To take an instance, there is no reformatory for women in the state of Wisconsin. If a woman commits a crime or a misdemeanor in the state of Wisconsin, it is either jail or prison; there is no halfway substitute. More fundamental, and very much more important than that, is the fact that in this progressive state, where undoubtedly the men wish to protect the women, there still remains the fact that women have not equal guardianship of their children. In the state that is regarded as the foremost in progressive legislation women have no right in their children; not only have they no right in the husband's lifetime, but he may, in his will, will those children to anyone whom he selects, even if the child is born after his death.

Now we can have, it seems to me, no better proof of the fact that it is impossible for the women to have their needs and views expressed by the men than such facts as these concerning a truly progressive body of men, such as the Wisconsin legislators are.

Again, there is the fact that the ballot is fundamentally a means of protecting the weak. From one point of view we might say that that little slip of paper represents all that

the human race has achieved in the democratic struggle, in the struggle of the democratic mass to secure for itself some control over its own living, in the struggle of the dispossessed of this earth to wrest from the possessors thereof the means of controlling their own standards of life and of work.

Now, if this is true, as it seems to be, for the pages of history show how in the workshop of time, on the anvil of life, shaped and reshaped by the hammer and blow of social experience, there has been forged at last this so potent weapon, ask yourself for what it has been forged? Is it to strengthen the hands of the strong? Oh, no; it is to put into the hands of the weak a weapon of self-protection. And who are the weak? Those, of course, who are economically handicapped, first and foremost the working classes in their struggle for better conditions of life and labor. And who among the workers are the weak? Wherever the men have suffered, the women have suffered more. That point will be brought out to you again and again in the plea of the wage-earning women.

But I would also like to point out to you how this affects the home-keeping woman, the wife and mother, of the working class, aside from the wage-earning women who have been pushed by economic necessity into the struggle of life. Consider the woman who is at home and must make both ends meet on a small income. Who better than she knows whether or not the cost of living advances more rapidly than the wage does? Is not that merely a true statement, in the most practical form, of the problem of the tariff? And who better than she knows what the needs of the workers are in the factories? Take the tenement-house woman, the wife and mother who is struggling to bring up a family under conditions which constantly make for evil. Who, better than the mother who has tried to bring up six or seven children in one room in a dark tenement house, knows the needs of a proper building? Who, better than the mother who sees her boy and her girl playing in the streets and in the gutter, knows the needs of playgrounds? Who, better than a mother, knows what it means to a child's life—

which you men demand that she as a wife and a mother shall care especially for—who, better than she, knows the cruel pressure that comes to that child from too early labor in what the United States census report calls “gainful occupations”?

“But,” you may say, “these women are ignorant; how can we afford to allow that ignorant vote to come into the national councils?” Well, you know, after all, ignorance is a relative term, is it not? Certainly this body is too intelligent to think that education in the schools and colleges makes necessarily for intelligence in living. Certainly you recognize that there is a practical wisdom that comes out of the pressure of life, and an educational force in life itself which very often is more efficient than that which comes through textbooks or college.

Forum. 43: 593-602. June, 1910.

Will of the People. Carrie C. Catt.

When the ownership of property was deemed a necessary qualification for the vote, as it still is in most lands, “Taxation without representation is tyranny” was the only plea offered for the extension of the suffrage in new classes of men. The colonial battle cry did not mean the ballot; it meant the collective right of the American settlements to representation. Very soon, however, when the new constitutions were being formulated, it was interpreted to apply to individual men. Upon that basis, and for that reason, the vote was extended to men in the United States, and by that claim they held it until a broader principle eliminated the tax qualification. That argument still holds good; women are taxed. In the one state of New York, women hold property in total valuation considerably higher than that held by all the Colonists at the time of the Revolution. It is manifestly a tyrannical discrimination to take from citizens that which is theirs for the purpose of creating a common fund to be expended for the common good, when some citizens

are permitted to vote upon that expenditure and others are not. Opponents triumphantly exclaim in justification of this difference, that minors and foreigners are taxed. True, but boys vote at twenty-one years, and foreigners may do so after a five years' residence, while the distinction in the case of women is perpetual.

Evidently the Colonists were not equal at the beginning to the enforcement of the second and bolder principle of the Declaration of Independence: "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Later, under the teachings of Thomas Jefferson, it was interpreted as a workable proposition. Its advocates said in its defense that every man had a stake in the government, and therefore he must have a corresponding ballot's share in the law making and law enforcing power of the nation, in order to defend his stake; that every man must be equally interested with every other to develop the common welfare to the highest degree possible, and therefore he must have his opinion counted.

These arguments won, and for this reason all white men not yet enfranchised received the vote.

A century ago, government by the "will of the people," in the country meant the rule of rich white males over poor white and black males. Later it meant the rule of white, Negro and Indian males, born or naturalized in the United States, over all women. But women are people; they are taxed, they are governed, and they have an interest in the common good to be defended. Every reason ever urged for the enfranchisement of men speaks as logically for the enfranchisement of women. Manifestly, if the powers of government are only just when founded upon the "consent of the governed," and this plea gave the vote to men, the powers of the United States government are not just, since they have been derived from the consent of half the governed. Therefore, women are asking the old question with the modern application: How does it happen that men are born to govern, and we to obey? Are men divinely ordained to be perpetual hereditary sovereigns, and women to be hereditary

subjects? If this is the order, where is the proof? When, where and to whom, did God or Nature reveal the fact? The only answer ever made to this question is: The revelation is found in the instincts of men and women who shrink in natural righteous horror from a change so fundamental. Alas, since the world began, the ignorant frightened, "natural instincts" of the masses have held back every step of evolution, and have inaugurated many a bloody "reign of terror." "Natural instincts" have been overturned so often by the progress of civilization, that little respect for such authority remains. In fact the source of opposition to woman suffrage lies in the universal distaste for new things and not in instinct at all. It is merely the time-honored fear, which "makes us rather bear these ills we have, than fly to those we know not of."

The fears of the Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey, the Shah of Persia tell them as certainly that men have no claim to the suffrage, as those of the American legislator tell him that women have no political rights. The fears of China forbid a woman to walk on natural feet and the fears of the Turk put his womankind in the harem. The fears of Mrs. Humphry Ward tell her it is consistent with the natural and divine order of things that women should vote in municipal elections, but contrary to God and Nature for them to vote for members of Parliament. An anti-suffragist not long since made a public plea that the Board of education in the City of New York should be elective, and that women as well as men should elect its members; yet her fears told her that the highest order of society would be overturned should the same women vote for mayor. The American would not hesitate to pronounce the fears of China and Turkey which deny personal liberty to woman as expressions of brutal barbarism. The Australian who has yielded to the inevitable, enfranchised women, and recovered from the shock, would declare with as firm conviction that the American who grants the sovereignty of a vote to the immigrants from all quarters of the globe, the Negroes and Indians, and yet denies it to women, is a mere democratic

masquerader. Such divergences do not arise from intuition, but from difference in enlightenment.

Under the influence of steady agitation the issue grows simpler every year. Woman suffrage is already an established fact on one fifteenth of the earth's territory; and from Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Norway, Finland, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the Isle of Man, Denmark, Iceland, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho comes the same overwhelming testimony. With opportunity to do so, women vote as generally as do men. They vote as independently and as intelligently. They do not neglect their husbands, or children, or homes for politics. They do not become unsexed and poor imitations of men. There is no increase of divorces, no falling off in the number of marriages, or the number of births. No harm in any way has come to women, to men, to children, or to the states, while on the contrary, much positive good has been accomplished.

"Women do not want to vote, why thrust the suffrage upon them?" The incontrovertible fact is that no class of unenfranchised men in any land ever wanted the ballot in such large proportion to the total number as do women of the United States; nor is there a single instance of a man suffrage movement, so persistent, uncompromising and self-sacrificing as the woman suffrage movement. Sooner or later, just men will answer this excuse for postponing legislative action in the matter by the counter question, why demand of women a test never made of men? Since it is proved that women will vote when they may, is that not sufficient? The suffrage is permissive, not mandatory; those who want to vote, will do so, while those who do not want to vote, will refrain from so doing. It must be remembered, too, that the same type of women who now protest against the extension of the suffrage, have opposed with equal vigor every step of progress in the woman movement. They pronounced the effort to secure to married women the control of their own property, an insult to men. They united their anathemas to those of the press and pulpit in bitter condemnation of the early women college graduates, wom-

en physicians and platform speakers. They have never sought any extension in privileges with one exception. Twice New York anti-suffragists have memorialized the governor of the states to request that women should be appointed to positions upon all public boards possible, as a suitable method of utilizing the wasting talents of women on the one hand, and to assuage the "growing unrest among women" on the other. As these women have availed themselves of all privileges as soon as established, and are now asking for public office, which is commonly regarded as an adjunct of political power, it is safe to assume, that they will exercise the suffrage when once it is obtained.

North American Review. 193: 60-71. January, 1911.

Is Woman Suffrage Important? Max Eastman.

When an equal proportion of all classes of the women's votes is called out, our educated and our American-born vote will be increased, and our uneducated and foreign-born vote decreased, in the final proportion. Therefore, while we cannot look to women's votes for such an inundation of purity as certain chivalric souls would love to think, we can assure ourselves of no deterioration, but on the contrary an increase through them of the average intellectual culture and acquaintance with American institutions in the electorate.

Moreover, we cannot ignore the fact that women, even when their opportunity and the demands we make of them are as great as they should be, will remain in certain ways normally different from men. Women are mothers, and men are not. When all psychic marvels and parlor nonsense are laid aside, that is the scientist's difference between men and women. Women inherit, with instinctive motherhood, a body of passionate interests that men only partially share. And when we say that those interests are needed in government, we but extend to the state as a whole a generalization already applied to every essential part of it.

For we freely acknowledge, in the daily progress of our lives, that women's vital intuitive judgments tend often to recall us from our theoretical and commercial vagaries to the chief issue, the conservation of human resources. An extension of that tendency into the sphere of politics will appear less incongruous and more advisable with every year that the profession of politics continues to improve as it is now improving.

Governments are more and more approaching the real concerns of humanity. All those moral and social problems, the preservation of health and safety, the regulation of hours and conditions of labor, the guidance of competition, even the determination of wages and the cure of poverty—problems that used to be handled by a few supernormal individuals under the name of "Charity"—are now creeping into the daily business of bureaus and legislatures. This civilizing of government is a process which we must further with all our might, that ultimately even the greatest questions of democratic equality, which are still only agitated by a handful of noteworthy idealists, may become the substance of party platforms and the fighting-ground of practical politics.

It is not justice as a theoretical ideal, nor feminine virtue as a cure for politics, but democratic government as the practical method of human happiness that compels our minds. The Anglo-Saxon race has progressed so far as it has, in intellectual and moral and material culture, largely because it has carried forth the great venture of popular government. We have learned to take it for granted, and so to forget, that civil liberty is the foundation of our good fortune, but we ought to remind ourselves of it every morning. We ought to remind ourselves that we are the van of a great exploit. Had we been alive when the daring plans were laid, we should remember. The greatest hypothesis in the history of moral and political science was set up in this laboratory, and our business is to try out the experiment until the last breath of hope is gone out of us.

The democratic hypothesis is that a state is good, not when it conforms to some general eternal ideal of what a

state ought to be or do, as the Greeks thought, but when it conforms to the interests of particular concrete individuals—namely, its citizens, all that are in mental and moral health; and that the way to find out their interests is not to sit on a throne or a bench and think about it, but go and ask them. Now to discriminate against an approximate half of the citizens—just because they have, as we say, such different interests from the rest—is to betray our hypothesis and destroy our experiment at its crucial point. For the whole point of it was that we would give up asking an expert political class of the people what the state ought to do, and go down and ask all the people, expert or not and political or not, what they are interested in having it do.

Not only have the thinkers of the world waked up to the fact that women are individuals, and so to be counted under this theory of government, but the world itself has so changed that the practical necessity of applying the theory to them drives itself home. We need but open our minds to the facts. With the advance of industrial art the work of women has gone from the house to the factory and market. Women have followed it there, and there they must do it until this civilization perishes. In 1900, approximately one woman in every five in the United States was engaged in gainful employment, and the number is increasing. Most of these women have no choice as to whether they will work or not, and many of them are working in circumstances corruptive of health and motherhood. It is, therefore, a problem vital to the future of the race how to render the condition of industry compatible with the physical and moral health of women. And to him who knows human nature and the deep wisdom of representative government, it is clear that the only first step in solution of that problem is to give to the women themselves the dignity and defence of political recognition.

Compared to the variety of their needs, and the subtlety of the disadvantages under which they enter a competitive system, it is a small thing to give them. But it is the first and manifest thing. It is the ancient antidote of that preju-

dice which everywhere opposes them, and its smallness is not a reason for withholding, but for bestowing it. Give them that small thing for which Anglo-Saxon men have grovelled, and lied, and slaughtered, and perished, for a thousand years to win—namely, a little bit of the personal sacredness of sovereigns before their ruler and the law. A small thing, but their own, and an indispensable prerequisite and guarantee of every other privilege or opportunity you may hope to confer upon them.

Such is the argument from the ideal of democracy—theoretic, practical, and coercive in the concrete present. Yet, in so far as we are believers in the progressive enrichment of life, we have something more to do than live up to our ideals. We have to illumine and improve them continually. The Athenian youths had a running-match in which they carried torches, and it was no victory to cross the tape with your torch gone out. Such is the race that is set before us. And we may well remember—we in America who scorn the contemplative life—that no amount of strenuousness with the legs will keep a flame burning while you run. You will have to take thought.

And it is out of a thoughtful endeavor, not merely to live up to an ideal of ours, but to develop it greatly, that the suffrage movement derives its chief force. I mean our ideal of woman and motherhood. It is not expected by the best advocates of this change that women will reform politics or purge society of evil, but it is expected, with reasoned and already proved certainty, that political knowledge and experience will develop women. Political responsibility, the character it demands and the recognition it receives, will alter the nature and function of women in society to the benefit of themselves, and their husbands, and their children, and their homes. Upon that ground they declare that it is of vital importance to the advance of civilized life, not only to give the ballot to those women who want it, but to rouse those women who do not yet know enough to want it, to a better appreciation of the great age in which they live.

The industrial era—for all the ill we say of it, we must

say this great good, that it has made possible and inevitable the physical, and social, and moral, and intellectual liberation of women. The simplification of home life through invention and manufacture, the growth of large cities with their popular education, and above all the division of labor, have given her a free place in the active world. This fact is the distinctive feature of these ages. To a distant and universal historian—a historian who writes the lives of the people—that change in the position of women will appear, not only the most striking, but the most excellent achievement of ours. For we will never evolve a heroic race of people on the earth until we give them a twofold inheritance and tradition of active, intelligent virtue. That we have begun to do. And no act at the present time can more urge and certify this great step in the history of life than to give it a political expression and guarantee. Citizenship will rouse and educate women, it will develop our ideal of them; therefore, it is a dominant necessity of advancing civilization that they have it.

That this political reform will have deeper effects than its effect upon politics is proven by the outcries that oppose it; "You are bringing dissension into our homes! You are striking a blow at the family, which is the corner-stone of society!"—Hysterical outcries, I think, from persons whose families are already tottering. Certain it is that many of these corner-stones of society are tottering. And why are they tottering? Because there dwell in them triviality and vacuity. It is these that prepare the way of the devil! Who can think that intellectual divergence, disagreement upon a great public question, could disrupt a family worth holding together? On the contrary, nothing save a community of great interests, agreeing and disagreeing, can revive a fading romance. When we have made matrimony synonymous with a high and equal comradeship, we shall have done the one thing that we can do to rescue those families which are the tottering corner-stones of society. And that we cannot do until men and women are both grown up.

A greater service of the developed woman, however, will be her service in motherhood. For we are in extreme need of mothers that have the wisdom of experience. To hear the sacred office of motherhood advanced as a reason why women should not become public-spirited and active and effective, you would think we had no greater hope for our race and nation than to rear in innocence a generation of grown-up babies. Keep your mothers in a state of invalid remoteness from genuine life, and who is to arm the young with wise virtue? Are their mothers only to suckle them, and then for their education pass them over to some one who knows life? For to educate a child is to lead him out into the world of his experience; it is not to propel him with ignorant admonitions from the door. A million lives wrecked at the off-go can bear witness to the failure of that method. I think that the best thing you could add to the mothers of posterity is a little of the rough sagacity and humor of public affairs.

Woman's Journal. 43: 58. February 24, 1912.

Suffrage and Soldiering. Edwin D. Mead.

Once in so often nowadays, somebody rises to say that no woman should be allowed to vote unless she is able and ready to become a soldier or a policeman, and use a gun or a billy upon occasion to preserve order or defend the state. We suddenly learn that only potential fighters are proper citizens, and that the true state is a latent army. "Government is based on force" is the fashionable phrase which seems to be giving very considerable glee to a little coterie of opponents of woman suffrage. "Eliminate from government this element of force," writes one of them recently to a Boston newspaper, "and its sole excuse for existence is removed. All public functions requiring merely voluntary concerted action of citizens, without force, can be and are performed by private or non-governmental agencies."

This notion is to most democratic people at this time of day a little surprising. We are accustomed to think that the conception of the state as the voluntary coöperation of the people for promoting their common ends in an efficient and adequate manner, as could not be done individually or by little groups, is the true conception. This would appear to be not only an "excuse" for the existence of the state, but most modern men would certainly agree that it was its real end and definition. That governments require police and military force for various purposes is unquestionable; nobody certainly ever heard of woman suffragists questioning it. Boston has a few thousand policemen; and the United States has perhaps a hundred thousand soldiers, quite enough for every need of its ninety million people. It has many more butchers and bakers, equally indispensable to every people, and rendering services equally necessary to all citizens, men and women, although, in the proper division of labor, the service, like the police service, is the service of men. Neither the one thing nor the other has anything to do with the voting system, or with qualification for voting.

The curious thing is that it is only nowadays and for the sake of opposing woman suffrage that this silly contention has made its appearance. Nobody ever heard eligibility for military service urged as a condition or qualification for man's suffrage. There is no nation on earth where a man is allowed to vote because he can fight, or where he is not allowed to vote because he cannot fight. The mere proposition to subject voting men to such a test or definition would produce a popular outcry about military despotism from the very men now urging the test against women. Yet the only possible excuse or pretext for such a test belonged to the military past, when war was often the regular and almost the chief business of nations. It has no relevancy whatever to the present, when war has long ceased to be that. No contingency is conceivable when even a tithe of our able-bodied young men would be required for national defence.

If ever such exigencies should arise as once arose at Harlem and Leyden, we have no doubt that the women in the

besieged cities of America would do their part as "manfully" as those women in Holland.

I have said that no man ever escaped military service because he was not a voter, or was allowed to vote because he was a soldier. I wonder how many of our people know how many of our soldiers in the Civil War were voters? Out of less than three millions who enlisted, more than two millions were not twenty-one years old; there were about 600,000 voters. The millions were literally "boys" in blue.

Voting and Fighting.

It is said that, if women vote, they ought to fight and do police duty.

If no men were allowed to vote except those who are able and willing to do military and police duty, women might consistently be debarred for that reason. But so long as the old, the infirm, the halt, the lame and the blind are freely admitted to the ballot box, some better reason must be found for excluding women than the fact that they do not fight.

By a comic fatality, this objection is almost always urged by some man who could not fight himself—some peaceful, venerable old clergyman, or some corpulent, elderly physician who would expire under a forced march of five miles. I have even heard it used by a man who had been stone blind ever since he was three years old.

It is said that we have to legislate for classes, not for individuals; and that men as a class can fight, while women can not. But there are large classes of men who are regarded as disqualified to fight, and are exempt from military service, yet they vote. All men over 45 years of age are exempt. So are all who are not physically robust. Of the young men who volunteered for the Spanish war, more than half were rejected as unfit for military service. Col. T. W. Higginson says:

"It appears by the record of United States military statis-

tics that out of the men examined for military duty during the Civil War, of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found unfit; of preachers, 975; of physicians, 680; of lawyers, 544. Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they cannot fight, though not one in twenty of their own number is fit for military duty, if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage, only about one in four could himself carry a musket; while, of the lawyers who fill Congress, the majority could not be defenders of their country, but could only be defended."

Of unskilled laborers, on the other hand, only a small fraction were found physically disqualified. Since unskilled laborers as a class can render military service, and professional men as a class cannot, does it follow that suffrage ought to be taken away from professional men and limited to unskilled laborers?

As for police duty, men are not drafted, but out of those who volunteer, and who come up to the prescribed conditions of strength, weight, etc., a sufficient number are hired, and they are paid out of tax money which is levied on the property of men and women alike. Women contribute to the policing of the country in just the same way that the majority of the men do—i. e., they help to pay for it.

Again, it must be remembered that it is women who furnish the soldiers. Mrs. Z. G. Wallace, of Indiana, from whom Gen. Lew Wallace drew the portrait of the mother in "Ben Hur," said: "If women do not fight, they give to the state all its soldiers." Lady Henry Somerset says, "She who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms." Lucy Stone said: "Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. For years she does picket duty beside his cradle. Later on she is his quartermaster, and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to be a man, shall he say to his mother, 'If you want to vote, you must first go and kill somebody'? It is a coward's argument!" Mrs. Humphry Ward's sister tells us that every year, in England alone, 3,000 women lose their lives in childbirth. This ought, in all fairness, to be taken as an offset for the military service that women do not render.

It is said that the laws could not be enforced if women voted. Suppose most men voted one way and most women the other, would not the men refuse to abide by the result?

Women have the school ballot in about half the states of the Union. Their votes occasionally turn the scale in a school election. Do the defeated candidates and their friends refuse to abide by the result? In England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Kansas, Norway, Sweden and elsewhere women have the municipal ballot, and their votes occasionally turn the scale at a municipal election. Has there ever been an armed uprising against the result? In Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Finland, Norway, Australia and New Zealand women vote for all elective officers, including the highest. No trouble has ever resulted. The laws are as well enforced there as in adjoining states and countries, where women do not vote. What reason is there to suppose that our men are less civilized than the men of other countries or of other states?

Either the ability to fight is a necessary qualification for suffrage, or it is not. If it is, the men who lack it ought to be excluded. If it is not, the lack of it is no reason for excluding women. There is no escape from this conclusion.

The best fighters, the young men between 18 and 21, are not allowed to vote; while the wisest voters, those over 45 years of age, are not required to fight.—William I. Bowditch.

In Colorado, men in general regard the military argument against woman suffrage as too absurd for serious comment. If all the men who cannot or do not fight should be disfranchised, the polls would be as lonesome as a sea bathing resort in December.—Gen. Irving Hale of Denver.

Think of arguing with a sober face against a man who solemnly asserts that a woman should not vote because she cannot fight! In the first place, she can fight; in the second, men are largely exempt from military service; and in the

third, there is not the remotest relation between firing a musket and casting a ballot.—Ex-Secretary of the Navy Long.

Atlantic Monthly. 105: 559-70. April, 1910.

Woman's War. Mary Johnston.

There are perhaps twenty-five million women in the United States—over five million of them wage-earning. There are more wage-earning women in this country to-day than there were men, women and children in the day of the Declaration of Independence. What does it mean to say that, of the adult population of a country, one moiety furnishes to the prisons ninety-four and one-half per cent of the inmates, and the other moiety five and one-half per cent? What is the meaning of the enormous discrepancy shown by the drink statistics? The prostitutes? Yes; but to the making of one harlot there go, as a minimum, two rakehells. The silly, the common, the frivolous, the selfish, the dishonest, the unscrupulous, the adventuress? All exist and in large numbers. We hope to reduce them. But we think that even there, were statistics available, the feminine hemisphere might be found less heavily shaded than the masculine. We think that that is the opinion of the world.

It would seem that there is an inference to be drawn from two simple facts. First: the militarist, the employer of cheap and of child labor, the bribed politician, the contemner of education, the liquor interest, the brothel interest, every interest that sets its face against reform, from reform of the milk-supply to disarmament of nations, is opposed to the political liberty of women. Second: the biologist, the political economist, the statesman, the sociologist, the eugenist, the physician, the educator, the student, and the moralist, are to be found, in ever-increasing number, advocates of her enfranchisement.

Delineator. 76: 85; 142. August, 1910.

Why I Am for Suffrage for Women. William E. Borah.

Idaho extended to her women the right to vote in the early days of her statehood. We do not become at all excited over the effect of woman suffrage in our state. But we do declare it to be our deliberate judgment that her presence in politics armed with the power to enforce her demand, has been substantially and distinctively for the benefit of politics and of society. It has aided materially in the securing of better laws along particular lines; especially has it tended to cleaner politics in particular and essential matters. Our women have not always been so active in politics as they should be, but it has been observed that when a moral question is up for consideration, the majority vote of the women has been a power upon the right side.

It is sometimes argued that women will vote largely with their brothers or husbands, but I have observed that there comes a time upon certain questions when the brothers and husbands vote with the women. We should not be misled by the idea that the American woman will put aside with entire complacency her views and her convictions upon a large class of questions which are coming more and more to be dealt with in politics. And upon these questions her intuitions are far more valuable than the sometimes sordid judgment of men.

We have in economics what some are pleased to call potential competition. Translating this into a common and homely phrase or sentence, it is the fear of a scoundrel that if he robs the public too severely or too outrageously some one will administer punishment by getting in and establishing an honest business with fair prices, and likely put the unjust one out of business. The trusts, therefore, they say, hesitate to put their prices beyond a certain mark for fear of this potential competition.

This element of strength is not to be overlooked in politics in connection with this question which we are now dis-

cussing. Women may not always be at the caucuses or they may not always take an active part in as many ways as men. Let us concede that for the sake of argument. There may be very few of them at the state convention, but—I am speaking from observation extending over a number of years and many political gatherings—the women are nevertheless always a powerful factor in every political gathering where platforms are written, issues made and candidates nominated.

Those who expect to win at the polls will never take the chance on the woman vote remaining away upon that occasion. They will not do something which they feel would incur the opposition of the women on the theory that they will not go to the polls anyway. They are practically as potential, indeed in some instances more so, than if they were in charge of the convention. I have seen "slates" broken out of absolute regard for or fear of the woman vote when there were not two women delegates in the convention among some two hundred.

Some politicians act upon such occasions out of a high regard for the opinion of those whose vote they are considering; others out of fear. But, whatever the cause or the reason, every man who has been in practical politics in a state where women vote knows that what I say is true. The woman vote, as a political potentiality, is a powerful factor at all times in shaping the politics of a state campaign and in determining in some measure, although not to the same extent, the qualities of the candidates. And this factor is always for the good, for whether women may make mistakes or not in the matter of actual voting, men universally accredit to them the aptitude for getting upon the right side of these great moral and quasi-moral questions which are entering more and more into state campaigns.

I read some time ago a leaflet sent out by some good and cultured women presenting a protest against woman suffrage. One of the arguments advanced was that but a small proportion of the woman vote in those states where they have been given the right to vote. This, as I have observed the actual practise, is an error. I think a remarkably

large proportion of the women vote when you take into consideration, first, that it is a new privilege, against the exercise of which stand the customs and tendencies and teachings from St. Paul to the present day; second, that it is a privilege still rejected and the use of which is still criticised by many good women in the land, which both discourages and discredits its use. If those women who speak disparagingly of the privilege or of those who choose to exercise it should be found defending the right and encouraging the use of it by those who have a chance to use it, there would be little complaint in a few years of the failure to exercise it.

But what shall we say of the thousands of men among the most prosperous citizens of the community who, election after election, fail to vote? It is no unusual thing to find a hundred thousand men absent from the polls in a single state even at a presidential election. Shall we take from the more active, the more patriotic, the right of franchise because the surfeited or business-ridden or politically discontented remain away? I hold it to be the duty of every citizen to take an active interest in politics, to study measures and to vote. Instead of its being an evidence of purity and patriotism to remain out of politics, it is generally an evidence of utter selfishness or political disappointment or an ostentatious display of modern Phariseism.

The good women surrounded by all the comforts and culture of prosperous and happy homes may feel a reluctance to enter the arena of politics even to the extent of exercising the right of franchise. But the thousands of women who stand alone and must depend upon their own efforts in the struggle for existence; who feel the injustice of laws or the cruelty of politics; the thousands of women who must join with their husbands in seeking homes and educating families, these ought not to be deprived of a voice in selecting those who are to determine politics and make laws.

The next startling argument which those good women advance is that woman suffrage would confuse the functions of men and women and would lay heavy burdens of responsibility upon women which men now chivalrously await an

opportunity to assume. It is a little difficult here to determine whether this argument arises out of sympathy for the women or out of a desire to protect the chivalry of men in these modern days. This is the statement, though in a different and more cultured way, which was used in the debates at the country school. The young orator opposing woman suffrage, with a fine sense of the climax so essential in all oratory, reserved until the last the clinching, consternation-spreading argument that if women vote they must work on the roads and go to war.

But truly, "Summer is not so bad as painted." We find no such evil effects flowing from the exercise of the right of franchise. The functions are not confused—far less confused, indeed, than already in the business world. The mother is no less a mother, the home no less a home, the husband no less a husband, and even often more a husband. It is absurd, perfectly absurd, to suppose that woman will change her sphere in life by reason of an increased opportunity to enlarge and ennoble that peculiar sphere in which she is by nature placed and from which all the laws and politics of the world will never take her. This is the same doctrine that woman has had to meet in every single initiative of her fight for a higher and broader sphere of action. I know,—everybody who thinks knows—that the woman who deals in care and sincerity with those questions which lighten the burdens and adjust the equity of humanity is a noble, stronger, more womanly woman than the woman who sits in enforced idleness, sips her tea and discusses the decline and retirement of some departed social queen.

The suggestion, that, should the ballot be given to women, the less desirable class of women would avail themselves of this right and the desirable remain aloof, is not sustained in practice or experience. The argument having been called to the attention of the public some time ago, a public expression was secured from a number of women of my state. I quote from their published utterances. An elderly lady, long most active in matters connected with the suffrage cause and one of our oldest and most highly respected families,

said: "The majority of the women of the state exercise the right of suffrage and it is only on rare occasions that I have heard of the undesirable class voting at all."

A young lady who has taken a most efficient and active part in state politics for several years, who had to do with the public service, who is familiar with all parts of the state and thoroughly qualified to give an opinion, said: "In my experience of seven years in politics in Idaho, which has taken me over the entire state, I have found the thinking women alive to every issue." And she added: "I believe there is a class of men who are just as unfit for the ballot as are Hottentots."

The mother of a fine family, who has been interested in educational work, said: "I do not think it is true that the desirable women do not vote and the undesirable do; emphatically no." Another, a former regent of our state university, universally respected and loved, with as beautiful a home as may be found in the West, said: "I am sure that the majority of the intelligent women in this state vote. I think the undesirable class vote at times, but never any more as a unit than any other class of women." I think these expressions convey the opinion of practically all who have observed the effect of woman suffrage in Idaho.

The most startling doctrine, however, comes to me in a bulletin published in Chicago. It asserts that woman suffrage means socialism, and it is part and parcel of the worldwide movement for the overthrow of the present order of civilized society, and the establishment in its place of a revolutionary scheme based upon principles that have been tried and found wanting and which are unalterably opposed to those that form the foundation of the free government under which we live. How it could be effected, what part woman suffrage would have in the movement, is not made clear. This is all left to the imagination, already well aroused and somewhat bewildered by the promised catastrophe.

We can not help recurring to a former argument against woman suffrage so often advanced and which indeed is ad-

vanced in this same bulletin, to-wit: that she does not want suffrage and would not exercise the right if she had it. Unless woman is going in earnestly and zealously to use this right, to take hold of affairs and exert continuously and persistently this power, it does not seem possible that she would have any considerable part in this revolutionary wreck of things so forcefully described. I do not see how this movement is any kin to socialism or to revolution, unless it is that peaceful revolution by which a large portion of the intelligence and patriotism of the country moves up to a place of influence in accordance with every principle of equity and justice. With the corrupt hungry, dissolute mob of political satellites voting in our great cities, bought and delivered like cattle, could we not safely place against this the woman in her home devoted to its preservation against every evil that threatens its existence?"

If these women could see the ease, the imperceptible methods by which a state confers woman suffrage and the people take up the duties under the new regime, the unrevolutionary way in which all things continue to exist, they would at least discard such prophecies as those above. They can go into those states where women vote and have been voting for years, and while they will find good and noble women who are not enthusiastic about the privilege or zealous at all times in its use, they will find, on the other hand, thousands of refined, homeloving, family-rearing women who do exercise the right to the advantage of all and in no wise to the detriment of themselves.

Harper's Weekly. 55: 6. December 2, 1911.

Objections to Woman Suffrage.

Another familiar method of coping with the subject is to ask why women should demean themselves to demand political rights when it is perfectly simple to get anything they want for the mere asking. Accepting that

statement—which is, of course, not in the least borne out by the facts—one might submit that one serious objection to the asking method is that it consumes too much valuable time and takes a woman out of her home too much. It takes a great deal of time to serve on committees and plead one's cause before legislatures. Secondly, it is not dignified to ask of strange men as a favor that which is felt to be the inherent right of any sane adult. To be forced to get by cajolery or personal influence what is in the natural order right is harmful to character. Moreover, the facts do not bear one out that it is as easy to get what one needs by asking as by voting. The women of Australia had sent committees to legislature for years to try to get the wages of the women teachers in the public schools made the same as the men's in the same grades, but it was all without avail. The year after the suffrage was granted to women this bill was passed. To be true, the women of New York have accomplished the same end without the vote, but how many times have they appeared before the legislature without results first? Indeed, we have every reason to believe that the natural way is both quicker and more effective.

One great fear of the adult-suffrage opponents is that the vote unsexes women. Surely those who indulge in so ungrounded a fear may rest easy. Sex is older than our civilization, and the sex of woman is as solidly grounded as that of man. There is no more reason to fear that a change of method will unsex women than to fear that a man who sews will become a woman. One might as well fear that if a woman votes she will develop a bass voice.

Another superstition that ought to be faced is the one which takes it for granted that women in the mass are supported by men and have no need of representation other than that offered by their natural protectors. As a matter of fact, when Lloyd-George recently raised objection to the conciliation bill granting suffrage to the taxpaying women of England, on the grounds that it would admit only a few well-to-do ladies, it was found on taking the census that eighty-five per cent of the women of England were taxed either as

wage-earners or as living on inherited property of their own. It is a matter of statistics that over seven million American women are filling gainful positions, supporting themselves and others. The business and professional woman, writes the director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, has developed as naturally as the great merchant class developed in the Middle Ages or the world-wide industrial classes of the nineteenth century.

If the question is, Are women ready for the suffrage? then no thoughtful person could say anything but "No." All women are not capable of voting intelligently, nor all men. It may be a long time before the mass of women live down their long ostracism from national interests. But there is one hopeful fact to contemplate in the matter—women are not only by tradition and long training conservative, they are biologically conservative. "If the greater variability of men," writes Dr. Charles Otto Glaser, of the University of Michigan, "is the gift that fits them to explore new fields, nothing is more certain than that the less erratic organization, both physical and mental, of women fits them for administration, conservation, tradition and culture." "Society to-day is losing the service of a specialist in these matters," continues the same writer; "one, too, who is not only endowed by nature, but strengthened by education." "When once this becomes clear, shall we continue to doubt her ability to breast the waves of jingoism that periodically unsettle our markets and industries, distort the price of living, and even carry us into trivial yet costly war?"

Now do we for an instant believe that men will be the losers when women have wider interests and full lives. One of the sad spectacles of modern life is the broad gulf between the interests and pleasures of the average woman and the average man. Men and women can work together, but they take shockingly little pleasure in one another's society. Husbands and wives, once the accounts and the children are settled, have often not a single subject of mutual interest for refuge. Instead of the emancipation of women resulting in the estrangement of the sexes, as the genial editorial

writer quoted above thinks, the community of interests will brighten many a home and supply men and women with many a new bond of communion.

Man Needs Woman's Ballot.

Clifford Howard.

Not alone from our knowledge of women, not merely as a matter of theory, but from the records of history as revealed in the states and commonwealths in which woman suffrage now exists we know that the woman will be guided always in the selection of a public official by the character and the worth of the man. Is he worthy? Is he honest? Can he be depended upon to enforce the laws in behalf of decency and purity and righteousness? Those are the determining considerations in the eyes of a woman. She may have her political affiliations, she may be a Democrat or a Republican or a Socialist, but in any case involving a moral issue, in any case involving the welfare of the child or the home—the foundation corners of the nation—she is above all else the Woman, the Mother. If, therefore, for no other reason than this, we need the woman's ballot, the woman's help. We need the feminine in our electorate. Every man of us who stands for honesty and decency and cleanliness needs the woman to help in the selection of good and worthy men. We need her judgment, her intuitions, her instinct. We cannot hope to attain our ideals without her.

Always the man of America has needed the help of the woman, and he has always had it in every national crisis. In the colonial days, when the fate of the future nation rested upon the grit and endurance and the intelligence of our pioneer ancestors, it was the women who upheld the faith and the courage of the men. They stood by their sides and shared equally with them the dangers and the trials and the hardships of those pregnant days; and in order that the man might have the full help and co-operation of the woman,

he placed the musket in her hand, for he realized that he must give her every means at his command, that she might assist him in defending and preserving the home. And when he gave her the musket it was not with any fear that she would not know how to use it. He knew that she would handle it efficiently and heroically, and we know how fully she justified his faith in her.

Now, again, are we come upon pioneer days. We are standing to-day upon the frontier of a new social world, a new democracy, faced with new and menacing problems, with tasks and duties untried and unprecedented, and upon the proper performance of which depends the fate of our Republic. We are not threatened with external enemies—the savage Indian and the wild beast of the forest—but with enemies just as dangerous and far more to be dreaded—the internal foes of the social body, vice, corruption, disease, poverty. And would we succeed in any warfare against these evils we must have the full help and co-operation of the woman, even as our forefathers had the help of the woman in their troublous days. And even as they gave her the musket, the final and most efficient weapon at their command, so today must we give her the best within our gift, in order that she may be fully equipped to stand with us in our mutual struggle in behalf of the nation and the home. If, therefore, it be our wish that we shall endure and prosper we must, of necessity, give her the ballot.

Summing Up the Case for Woman Suffrage.

Justice David J. Brewer, of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The real question is a practical one. How does woman's suffrage work when tried? In this nation, six States—Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington and California—have granted full suffrage, and in at least the first four of them it has been in existence long enough for substantial results.

One thing is true of all; there has been no organized effort to repeal the grant. Whatever may be isolated opinions, the general mass of the voters are satisfied. Indeed, few have expressed antagonistic views. If the citizens of these states find nothing objectionable in woman's suffrage, a natural conclusion is that no injury has resulted. Especially is this true when the declarations of its friends in its favor are many and strong.

Doubtless some opposition may come from personal ambition defeated by the woman voters. Thus Judge Lindsey, of the Juvenile Court in Denver, who has attracted much attention by his good work in that court, after having been denied a renomination by each of the great political parties, came out as an independent candidate, and was elected mainly, it is said, by the votes of women who appreciated his labors and determined that the young culprits of that city should not be deprived of the benefit of his judgment and experience. It would be strange if the defeated candidates did not feel and express themselves against woman's suffrage. But their complaint is really testimony to its value.

The change in the position of woman in the past fifty years must be noticed. Then the only vocations open to her were teaching and sewing. But within the last half century she has entered into active outdoor life and is no longer a necessary home-body. Not that home has lost its charms, or that it will ever cease to be the place which she most loves and where she reigns supreme, but choice or necessity has driven her into varied pursuits, many of them calling for familiarity with public affairs and executive ability.

You see them not only doing clerical work in offices, but acting as shopgirls in stores, or laborers in a factory. Many who have charge of large administrations, are presidents of colleges, heads of corporations, and indeed engaging in almost every avocation of their brothers, and doing so with success. There is a host of female doctors. Women have invaded the pulpit and are pastors of churches. They are found in the court room, and not a few are efficient and successful practitioners. Indeed, it may truly be affirmed that they have fully entered into the active life of the world.

Women and Public Housekeeping.

Jane Addams.

A city is in many respects a great business corporation, but in other respects it is enlarged housekeeping. If American cities have failed in the first, partly because officeholders have carried with them the predatory instinct learned in competitive business, and cannot help "working a good thing" when they have an opportunity, may we not say that city housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multi-form activities? The men of the city have been carelessly indifferent to much of its civic housekeeping, as they have always been indifferent to the details of the household. They have totally disregarded a candidate's capacity to keep the streets clean, preferring to consider him in relation to the national tariff or to the necessity for increasing the national navy, in a pure spirit of reversion to the traditional type of government, which had to do only with enemies and outsiders.

It is difficult to see what military prowess has to do with the multiform duties which, in a modern city, include the care of parks and libraries, superintendence of markets, sewers and bridges, the inspection of provisions and boilers, and the proper disposal of garbage. It has nothing to do with the building department, which the city maintains that it may see to it that the basements are dry, that the bedrooms are large enough to afford the required cubic feet of air, that the plumbing is sanitary, that the gas pipes do not leak, that the tenement house court is large enough to afford light and ventilation, that the stairways are fireproof. The ability to carry arms has nothing to do with the health department maintained by the city, which provides that children are vaccinated, that contagious diseases are isolated and placarded, that the spread of tuberculosis is curbed, that the water is free from typhoid infection. Certainly the military conception of society is remote from the functions of the

school boards, whose concern it is that children are educated, that they are supplied with kindergartens, and are given a decent place in which to play. The very multifariousness and complexity of a city government demand the help of minds accustomed to detail and variety of work, to a sense of obligation for the health and welfare of young children, and to a responsibility for the cleanliness and comfort of other people.

Because all these things have traditionally been in the hands of women, if they take no part in them now they are not only missing the education which the natural participation in civic life would bring to them, but they are losing what they have always had. From the beginning of tribal life, they have been held responsible for the health of the community, a function which is now represented by the health department. From the days of the cave dwellers, so far as the home was clean and wholesome, it was due to their efforts, which are now represented by the Bureau of tenement house inspection. From the period of the primitive village, the only public sweeping which was performed was what they undertook in their divers dooryards, that which is now represented by the Bureau of street cleaning. Most of the departments in a modern city can be traced to woman's traditional activity; but, in spite of this, so soon as these old affairs were turned over to the city they slipped from woman's hands, apparently because they then became matters for collective action and implied the use of the franchise—because the franchise had in the first instance been given to the man who could fight, because in the beginning he alone could vote who could carry a weapon, it was considered an improper thing for a woman to possess it.

Is it quite public spirited for woman to say, "We will take care of these affairs so long as they stay in our own houses, but if they go outside and concern so many people that they cannot be carried on without the mechanism of the vote, we will drop them; it is true that these activities which women have always had are not at present being carried on very well by the men in most of the great American cities,

but, because we do not consider it 'lady-like' to vote, we will let them alone?"

Women In The House.

Susan W. FitzGerald.

We are forever being told that the place of woman is in the home. Well, so be it. But what do we expect of her in the home? Merely to stay in the home is not enough. She is a failure unless she does certain things for the home. She must make the home minister, as far as her means allow, to the health and welfare, moral as well as physical, of her family, and especially of her children. She, more than anyone else, is held responsible for what they become.

She is responsible for the cleanliness of her house.

She is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food.

She is responsible for the children's health.

She, above all, is responsible for their morals, for their sense of truth, of honesty and of decency, for what they turn out to be.

How Far Can the Mother Control These Things?

She can clean her own rooms, but if the neighbors are allowed to live in filth, she cannot keep her rooms from being filled with bad airs and smells, or from being infested by vermin.

She can cook her food well, but if dealers are permitted to sell poor food, unclean milk or stale eggs, she cannot make the food wholesome for her children.

She can care for her own plumbing and her refuse, but if the plumbing in the rest of the house is unsanitary, if garbage accumulates and the halls and stairs are left dirty, she cannot protect her children from the sickness and infection that these conditions bring.

She can take every care to avoid fire, but if the house has been badly built, if the fire-escapes are insufficient or

not fire-proof, she cannot guard her children from the horrors of being maimed or killed by fire.

She can open her windows to give her children the air that we are told is so necessary, but if the air is laden with infection, with tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, she cannot protect her children from this danger.

She can send her children out for air and exercise, but if the conditions that surround them on the streets are immoral and degrading, she cannot protect them from these dangers.

Alone, she cannot make these things right. Who or what can?

The city can do it, the city government that is elected by the people, to take care of the interests of the people.

And who decides what the city government shall do?

First, the officials of that government; and,

Second, those who elect them.

Do the women elect them? No, the men do. So it is the men and not the women that are really responsible for the

Unclean houses,

Unwholesome food,

Bad plumbing,

Danger of fire,

Risk of tuberculosis and other diseases,

Immoral influences of the street.

In fact, men are responsible for the conditions under which the children live, but we hold women responsible for the results of those conditions. If we hold women responsible for the results, must we not, in simple justice, let them have something to say as to what these conditions shall be? There is one simple way of doing this. Give them the same means that men have, let them vote.

Women are by nature and training, housekeepers. Let them have a hand in the city's housekeeping, even if they introduce an occasional house-cleaning.

Do Teachers Need the Ballot?

Alice S. Blackwell.

It is the general testimony of educators, from President Eliot of Harvard down, that the amount of money appropriated for schools is not nearly as large as it ought to be. Both pupils and teachers suffer from overcrowding, and from the necessity of giving each teacher too many pupils for the best educational results.

What is the reason for this lack of money for the schools? One reason is that the mothers and the teachers have no votes. Money can be found for purposes in which voters are interested. Hon. Frederic C. Howe says: "We spend millions for business purposes, for the promotion of industry. And yet, when any organization goes to the city hall for thousands for school purposes, it is met with the response that the city is too poor. We can spend millions for docks, but not thousands for playgrounds." In New York, it is estimated that there are 80,000 fewer seats in the public schools than there are children of school age. Many children cannot go to school at all, and thousands of others have to be put on "half time." This is an injustice both to the children and to the teacher. The children get only half the time in school to which they are entitled, and the teacher has her strength worn out by having to teach two relays of children daily.

In Philadelphia, the Superintendent of schools lately called attention to the fact that there were 20,000 fewer seats in the schools than there were children applying for admission; thousands could not get in, and for those who did get in, the accommodations were so poor that children were sitting on broken benches, on boards stretched across the aisles, on window sills and even on the floor. All this was for lack of money. Yet just at this time the city fathers voted \$50,000 of public money to entertain the "Elks," and \$10,000 more to entertain the Order of patriotic sons of America. This \$60,000 came largely from women's taxes, but the women had no vote as to how it should be spent.

Almost everywhere, the schools are pinched for money; but in the equal suffrage states this is not the case. The Colorado State Superintendent of public instruction said to me, "Some people in Colorado grumble about the size of the school tax, but our schools have money enough." Gen. Irving Hale of Denver says: "The extension of suffrage to women has made it easier to secure liberal appropriations for education." Colorado appropriates more money per capita for education than any of the eastern states, which are so much older and richer.

Of the inadequate amount of money provided for school purposes, the women teachers do not get their fair share. In Massachusetts, the average pay of a woman teacher in the public schools is about one-third that of a man. In New York, the richest city in America, the women teachers are paid so poorly that there are hundreds of vacancies in the public schools for which no teachers can be found. The women teachers of New York have for years been using their "indirect influence" to the utmost to secure equal pay for equal work, but without avail. In Wyoming, where women vote, the law provides that women teachers shall receive the same pay as men, when the work done is the same. (Revised Statutes of Wyoming, Section 614.)

The news that Utah had granted women the ballot was quickly followed by the announcement that the Legislature had passed a bill to give women teachers the same pay as men when they held certificates of the same grade. (Revised Statutes of Utah, Section 1853.) The Colorado State Superintendent of public instruction says, "There is no difference made in teachers' salaries on account of sex."

President Thomas of Bryn Mawr College says: "Experience proves that women as well as men need the ballot to protect them in their special interests and in their power to gain a livelihood. In Philadelphia no woman teacher receives the same salary as men teachers for the same work, and no women, however successful, are appointed to the best-paid and most influential positions in the schools. What is true of Philadelphia is true in the main, of the public

schools in 42 of the United States; but it is not true in the four states where women vote."

Another bane of the schools, and especially of the women teachers, is the influence of partisan politics. Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell, who served three terms as State Superintendent of public instruction for Colorado, and is highly esteemed by educators there, says:

"After twenty years' experience, I can say that our school boards are absolutely non-political and party affiliation is never considered in the appointment of teachers. I have never heard of a member of a school board being elected because he belonged to this or that party. Generally both parties are represented on the same board. Sometimes a board principally Democratic is found in a Republican community, and vice versa. Our teachers are free to vote according to their own consciences. I have seen or heard of more party politics in school matters in one block in Albany, Buffalo or Philadelphia than on the 103,925 square miles of Colorado soil."

Westminster Review. 174: 386-91. October, 1910.

Division of Labour and the Ballot. Raymond V. Phelan.

That the old-fashioned woman needs political power may be a startling idea, but it is just as true as that the new-fashioned woman demands such power as a final step in her gradual emancipation. Those who are able to see the full and true relation of woman to modern economical conditions, and the relation of such conditions to political power and action, very sensibly demand political equality. This demand the old-fashioned woman and the old-fashioned man meet with the dictum "woman cannot be a soldier," or "I believe in a division of labour between the sexes." The fact is, however, that the conservative cannot logically insist upon such a division of labour without insisting also upon suffrage for women. This may seem strange and contradictory, but it is nevertheless true.

That politics and law affect every department of woman's activity is fully apparent. That they affect the industrial and business conditions under which she works as factory hand, clerk, teacher, lawyer, physician, or business woman, is plainly evident. They affect also her business of house-keeper and home-maker. The girls in the New York shirt-waist makers' strike of 1910-11 were very vitally and seriously affected by the kind of police-officers and magistrates New York politics had put into or allowed to get into the police administration of the city. They were affected by the attitude taken towards them because they were not men strikers with votes. These girls were affected also by the lack of sufficiently enforced sanitary regulations in the shirt-waist factories. They are vitally concerned besides with the effect of a tariff on hides or of combinations in the manufacture of leather, either of which may affect the quality of the shoes that they can buy for a certain price. The school teachers of Chicago were formerly affected in a decidedly adverse way by a political condition in their city which emphasized the Chicago school system as a means of selling books, whether good or poor, and of making contracts favourable to business or to politics, instead of emphasizing it as a system of developing the best efficiency, character, and future citizenship in the children of Chicago. These teachers managed, however, to change that lamentable condition, when, led by brave and energetic Margaret Haley, they secured the support of men's labour unions, unions with votes to lend, compelling emphasis to their protests and to their demands for a school administration that emphasizes the welfare of the child, and furthers that welfare by making his teacher's tenure safe, and by allowing her to use the books with which she can best fulfil her obligation to her pupils. Higher wages, too, and just wages, such as the women teachers of New York, under the leadership of District Superintendent Grace Strachan, have been contending for in their well-supported and just struggle of four years for equal pay for equal service, often means more contentment, less worry, and better teaching. Can it be possible

that the school teacher is unworthy of suffrage? If she is fit to teach, is it possible that she can be unfit to vote? Woman owns property and carries on business. It may fairly be asked whether her sex makes the effect of law and politics upon such property and business, different from their effect upon the property and business of man, or if she is worthy of the trust and responsibility of owning property and managing business, whether she is not entitled to and fully worthy of political power, that will aid her in helping to secure legislation and administration favourable to the protection of or to an increased value of such property, or to prevent legislation and administration that might be injurious to her property or to her business?

"But," protests the old fashioned woman, "woman's place is in the home; her proper concern is with children, with education, with the happiness and welfare of the family." This contention of the conservative, upon analysis, reveals a strong argument for suffrage. In apportioning the work of the world to man and the work of the home to woman, the conservative, undoubtedly quite unconsciously, established a very sufficient basis for insistence upon votes for women. For is not the education of children affected by politics through political effects upon school systems, and school administration; is not the sanitation of the neighborhood so affected; are not the prices paid by the housewife and the quality of the things that she buys affected by politics—by tariffs, by industrial combinations, by railroad rates, by well-drawn and well-administered food laws or by their lack, by the provisions in her community regulating the price and the quality of light and water? Numerous instances can be cited to show that the progressive man wants more business, and that in his pursuit of business he too often fails to have a due regard for public health; while the progressive woman wants a community fit to live in. Is the woman's aim and desire of less public and social consequence than that of the man, whose mind is necessarily and desirably filled with business? In view of the much proclaimed sacredness and blessedness of the home, ought not its priest-

ess to have political power to protect her sanctum and his, against the overly business inclinations of the man? The conservative talks much of woman as a complement of man. Man is, of course, interested in the home; he usually carries on business largely for the sake of the home. But while man is interested in the home, his more intelligent and alert interest is in business and industry; while the woman's more intelligent and alert interest is in the home and in the way in which business, politics, and law affect the home and the community. The woman, in a word, is specially qualified to represent at the polls the claims of the home to protection and consideration. That woman will immediately work a revolution in politics is neither to be hoped for by the friend of social progress nor to be feared by those apprehensive as to the results of woman suffrage. The rank and file of woman must be given time to get used to the status of full citizenship, to grow up to the sense of responsibility and to the capacity characteristic of their more progressive and intelligent leaders. It is, indeed, a point of strength rather than of weakness in the suffrage movement that so large a number do not seem to want political freedom, for it is undoubtedly true that large numbers of men are not worthy of the ballot. Consequently, it is to be expected, since for the most part only intelligent and progressive women will vote—of course some unintelligent women will be voted by party bosses or by domineering male relatives—that the electorate will be improved in character by the woman voter. At any rate, the home is entitled to its woman representative at the polls. In politics the woman with the vote will be the complement of man.

Two things drive women into business, industry, and the professions—necessity and self-respect. The conservative, notwithstanding, often denies to women outside of the home any right to political power, declaring in justification of his refusal that they are out of their sphere. On the very basis of his contention, however, the conservative, cannot logically deny the ballot to the woman, who, within her so-called sphere, has the too often difficult task of serving as the

business manager of the home. Is the income of the factory in money or its output in the commodities of commerce more important than the output of the home ready for use and enjoyment, in the form of utilities making for health, efficiency, and happiness? The business of home-making is undeniably affected by politics, by law, by public regulation of the production and use of the things that satisfy human wants.

All over the world women are managing little workshops where the necessities, conveniences, and luxuries of life are collected, and often transformed to afford health, efficiency, and happiness to the family. In the home woman is a manufacturer and a business manager. She buys supplies and material; some of these she transforms in her kitchen; she hires help many times; she studies the markets for her supplies; she studies the market for her products; that is, the needs and the desires of her family. Often her money capital is so small as compared with her business that she is obliged to add to her rôle of captain of industry that of general of high finance. She is running a business, this home-maker is. Her husband is only the capitalist who furnishes the money capital for her business. His work is outside of the home. There is another difference, too. The spirit of associations and of combination in the business world is fast making, if it has not already made, the average man a mere cog in a great industrial organization; while, because of the persistence of individualism in home-making, the average woman continues to be an independent producer and business manager, and a business manager, too, whom increasing education—both along general lines and in domestic science and home economics—and an increasing sense of individuality are making more and more effective.

To deny woman the ballot is equivalent either to putting off upon man political duty and obligation not connected with his business of earning money capital for the home, or to denying the home political opportunity to secure law and administration favourable to its interests, and to prevent unfavourable law or administration. Two seeming objections

might be raised to this argument. First, it may be asked, have the husband and wife conflicting interests? By no means. But the special work and more intimate interest connected with the work of each, husband and wife, qualify the one to see best and clearest the business interest in politics; qualify the other to see the home interest. Social welfare calls for a reconciliation of these two interests. Such reconciliation can be affected by the man and the woman. But, objects our conservative friend, why not one vote rather than two? The answer is easily found. Because there is nothing in the nature of things why the woman should not vote instead of the man, and as yet there is no evidence that man will give up his voting prerogative to woman. In America, at least, there seem to be very strong reasons why many women should vote instead of men; these reasons are that more girls than boys are receiving a liberal education; and in very many instances women have more leisure than men to study public questions. If the conservative objects on the ground that woman's business of home-making is different from man's business of home-making, he puts the granting and with-holding of the suffrage on occupational grounds. In that case the woman wage-earner and the business and professional woman would be rightfully entitled to the ballot. The retort that such women are out of their sphere can be of no force; first, because the conservative has in this case put the ballot on the occupational basis; and secondly, because economic conditions, not woman, are in the main responsible for her presence outside of the home. It is illogical, furthermore, to argue that man should vote as an individual, and the woman, business manager of the home, should vote by proxy through a mere supplier of money capital. Besides, if man's dignity, sense of importance, self-respect, and feeling of individualism are promoted by his right to vote, is it not important that the maker of the home, and the educator of the children of the family should be a voting stockholder in the government, should have her sense of power and of importance added to by being given the right to vote? In the words of Madame

Nordica, "Woman, a creature who is entrusted with the bringing up of souls at their most critical and formative period, should certainly be credited with judgment enough to act as an individual." The second seeming objection adverted to above is that it is a man's business to look out for the welfare of his home and of his family. This is undeniable as far as his business of supplying money capital for the home, and of acting as counsellor to his wife are concerned, but it is a contradiction to say that woman's business is home-making and at the same time to deny her the political power that she needs as home-maker. Such a denial, for example, prevents her and her sister managers of homes from voting against candidates who would, through a tariff, increase their expense of home-making, from voting for a bond issue that is necessary to getting cheap, pure water for their families, or for candidates who will put through a building code that will prevent neighbouring landlords from shutting air and light out of their houses. Furthermore, the best home-making can never be accomplished by a woman who stands in the practical relation of subordinate and employee to her husband; the best home-making calls for a woman with a sense of authority and individuality. In these days, when the business of the home is so vitally affected by the politics and the policies of the community and of the nation, the best home-making calls for the citizen woman. Woman needs political power to protect and further her business of home-making, just as man needs and has political power to protect and further his business of money-making. Division of labour between the sexes in this age is incomplete without full political equality.

World To-Day. 19: 1017-21. September, 1910.

Evolution of the Woman Suffrage Movement.

Ida H. Harper.

The army of women who will eventually demand and obtain the franchise is being rapidly recruited. Partly be-

cause of the English situation, as has been described, a great awakening is taking place among American women, but there are other equally potent reasons for it. The great organizations of women are becoming permeated with the knowledge that they can never accomplish their various objects without the power of a vote. The Federation of women's clubs, with its million members, is not very far from being a suffrage association. The National council of women and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, each with a membership of hundreds of thousands, stand unequivocally for the franchise. The National Women's Trade Unions League and all its branches demand the ballot, and here woman suffrage will eventually find its strongest support.

The teachers' federations in various states, fighting their unequal battle for equal pay, are realizing the terrible handicap of disfranchisement. The question is taking hold upon the colleges and those of thirty states are already organized into a National Suffrage League, its members bringing into the work the freshness and enthusiasm of youth, the independence and assertion of their rights characteristic of modern young women, who will not endure the injustices practiced toward their mothers.

In every locality can be seen this new tendency, and it is very largely the development of the last two or three years. There will be no retrogression. This fact may now be accepted without further question: the women of the United States intend to have the suffrage. No power on earth can shake them in this determination.

Delineator. 77: 85-6. February, 1911.

Measuring Up Equal Suffrage.

George Creel and Ben B. Lindsey.

Colorado, better, perhaps, than any other state, affords an opportunity for a fair appraisal of equal suffrage's value, of its merits and demerits, its efficiency or its failure. This

commonwealth is peculiarly suited for such an examination by reason of the typical Americanism that marks its people and its problems. Within its border is every hope that animates the national heart, and every menace that casts its shadow over our democratic institutions. The pioneer spirit still survives—taming mountains, harnessing torrents, bringing deserts into bloom—and side by side with hardy enterprise and unconscious idealism there are those forces of ruthless commercialism so intimately identified with modernity. Against this background of characteristic conditions, the medley of courage and craft, patriotism and rapacity, honor and dishonor, that is America—equal suffrage has limned itself more boldly than could have been possible in many other states.

It has been one of the great bells that has aroused Colorado to the work of flushing filth from its politics, bettering economic conditions, mitigating the cruelties of industrialism, promoting equal and exact justice, and making for a more wholesome and expansive environment. To these ends, in the short space of seventeen years, it has aided in placing a score of needed laws on the statute books. It has raised new standards of public service, of political morality and of official honesty. It has helped to lift the curse of corporation control from the government. It has gone far to bit and bridle the lawless "liquor interests." It has made for a fuller, finer participation in public affairs, and by the introduction of a distinctly independent element into partizan politics, it has compelled the adoption of progressive platforms and the nomination of better candidates than the "old way" ever knew.

If the reform were pinned down to a specific result, and discussion limited to one concrete outcome, equal suffrage could well afford to rest its case on the findings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. This globe-circling organization of men and women, who play important parts in the public affairs of their various countries, is on record as declaring that "Colorado has the sanest, the most humane, the most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be

found on any statute book in the world." And of these laws which drew such praise from impartial sociologists, not one but has come into operation since Colorado's adoption of equal suffrage in 1893; not one but owes either its inception or its success to the voting woman. Even in those cases where the law was not originated, not specifically championed by them, they elected the official responsible for the law, and whose candidacy had its base in revolt and reform.

The list is as long as splendid: laws establishing a state home for dependent children, three of the five members of the board to be women; making mothers joint guardians of their children with the fathers; raising the age of protection for girls to eighteen years; creating juvenile courts; making education compulsory for all children between the ages of eight and sixteen, except the ailing, those taught at home, those over fourteen who have completed the eighth grade, those who support themselves, or whose parents need their help and support; establishing truant or parental schools; forbidding the insuring of the lives of children under ten; making it a criminal offense for parents or other persons to contribute to the delinquency of children; forbidding children of sixteen or under to work more than eight hours a day in any mill, factory or store or in any other occupation that may be deemed unhealthful; requiring that at least three of the six members of the Board of county visitors be women; establishing a state industrial home for girls, three of the five members of the Board of control to be women; including instruction concerning the humane treatment of animals in the public school course; providing that any person employing a child under fourteen in any mine, smelter, mill, factory or underground works, shall be punished by imprisonment in addition to fine; abolishing the binding out of industrial-home girls until twenty-one, and providing for parole; forbidding prosecuting and arresting officers from collecting fees in cases against children; providing that at least two thousand dollars of the estate of a deceased parent shall be paid to the child before creditors' claims are satisfied.

These laws, directly concerned with the welfare of the child, are supplemented by the following safeguards thrown about motherhood, the home, and general sociological conditions:

Laws making father and mother joint heirs of deceased children; requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sale of household goods used by the family, or conveyance or mortgage of homestead; making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents; providing that no woman shall work more than eight hours a day at labor requiring her to be on her feet; requiring one woman physician on the board of the insane asylum; providing for the care of the feeble-minded, for their free maintenance, and for the inspection of private eleemosynary institutions by the State board of charities; making the Colorado Humane Society a state bureau of child and animal protection; enforcing pure-food inspection in harmony with the national law; providing that foreign life or accident insurance companies, when sued, must pay the costs; establishing a state traveling library commission to consist of five women from the State federation of women's clubs; and making it a criminal offense to fail, refuse or neglect to provide food, clothing, shelter and care in case of sickness of wife or minor child.

The woman voter has boldly and intelligently dealt with the "criminal problem," the "labor problem," and the "suffrage problem." Not only has the "indeterminate sentence" been written on the statute books, and probation laws of greatest latitude adopted, but women serving on the penitentiary and reform school boards have practically revolutionized the conduct of penal institutions in Colorado. Broken men are mended now, not further cowed and crushed. A State free employment bureau, with offices in all Colorado cities of more than twenty-five thousand, has worked wonders, and the bitter cry of the unemployed is less and less heard; and women have largely engineered the effective campaign in favor of direct legislation, and have been almost solidly behind the fight for the initiative and referendum, and direct primary, and the commission form of government.

At the last Denver election, held May 27, 1910, both Republican and Democratic parties were compelled to recognize the popular demand, and present charter amendments providing for the initiative, referendum, recall and a water commission. But, under the control of public service corporations, and practically financed by the water monopoly, which was asking for a new franchise, "fake" amendments were framed by the old parties. Skilful indeed was the wording—every amendment "looked good"—yet not one but had a "joker" in it. At the last moment a Citizens' Party took the field, women behind it and a woman on the ticket. Real initiative, referendum and recall amendments were prepared, and a distinguished water commission named with power to either buy the water company's plant at a fixed figure, or build a new one.

Against both organizations, corporation money, and every professional politician and party henchman, the Citizens' ticket won an overwhelming victory. Denver now possesses the initiative, referendum and recall; and by virtue of a bond issue carried September 6, 1910, Denver will build its own water plant, and be forever freed from as arrogant and rapacious a monopoly as ever cursed a community.

And the women voters led!

Equal suffrage has been one of the great first causes of these laws, reforms and revolts. Surely, in the face of such results, fair-minded people must be shown a tremendous counterbalancing of injury and evil before they can justly condemn the movement. And what is it that the anti-equal-suffragists chiefly urge? That "It destroys the home."

Since it is admittedly the case that equal suffrage has safeguarded the home by scientific laws, and sweetened and bettered communal conditions directly bearing upon the home, this charge must be regarded as specifically leveled at the women in the home. In fact, the more blackguardly critics have not hesitated to declare that "the character of the Colorado woman is steadily deteriorating under the influence of the ballot."

It is, of course, a charge that defies detailed disproof.

To those who have visited Colorado, admired the conjunction of taste and care that marks the Colorado home, and rejoiced in the intelligence and refinement of the state's womanhood, the slander is at once apparent. To others the only thing that can be offered is a flat denial from every Colorado man.

Why, in the name of reason, should the mere fact of voting work deterioration in any woman? It does not take any mother "away from her home duties" to spend ten minutes going to the polls, casting her vote, and returning to the bosom of her family, but during those ten minutes she wields a power that is doing more to protect her home, and all other homes, than any other possible influence.

Just as all the laws passed by the women significantly concern the home and its environment, just so does participation in public affairs seem to have given Colorado women a deeper, more intelligent and energetic interest in their homes. By the legal establishment and recognition of woman's citizenship, the intellect and character and reciprocal estimation of both sexes has been raised. The possession of the ballot has given women an interest in general as well as political affairs, and this has naturally stimulated the men. Instead of the old perfunctory chit-chat of the average domestic circle—the relation of personal doings and gossip as the base of conjugal conversation—there has been an injection of ideas, the dawning of an intelligent and more intimate companionship. The woman, instead of being shut off from her husband's larger thoughts and outside interests, now shares in them; and even where the partnership is not particularly illuminative, it is certainly an improvement.

What statistics there are all fail to show that the home broadening has been attended by "coarsening and deterioration." The Colorado birth-rate has increased steadily, and the school population has gained twenty-five per cent in five years. The most careful investigation of court records proves that there has never been a divorce where the wife's political activity was assigned as the cause. The United States reports show fewer women in the wage-earning class in Colo-

rado than there are in any other state and a higher average of wages for both men and women. The average yearly male earnings in the United States are \$513, and the average yearly female earnings \$213, yet Colorado shows an average of \$638 for men, \$554 for women.

In this connection it is fair to consider club life, which plays an important part in the feminine activities of every town and city in the land. Under equal suffrage, the woman's club has undergone a startling transformation. Instead of being confined to the old innocuous topics, the impracticalities of "culture" and "near thought," these organizations, stripped of their inutility, now aim at specific purposes and achieve useful ends. The deliberations cover such subjects as educational problems, local option, joint property, election reforms, direct legislation, pure food, domestic science, the proper conduct of city, county and state institutions, sociology, and all manner of political and industrial reforms.

In addition to the "culture clubs" that have been given breadth and purpose, there are women's political clubs in almost every town in the state, not for the securing of offices, but for intelligent study of measures, conditions and remedies. Legislators and public men have come to regard it as a privilege to appear before these organizations. And when this permission is granted, it is not in the interests of candidacies or schemes, but out of a desire to get a clearer understanding of some pending or proposed measure. Contrary to the general belief, women have proved notoriously slow in giving their approval and support, but, once committed, their enthusiasm knows no bounds. Against this open and publicly-exerted influence of the voting woman, the "silent influence" preached by the anti-suffragist makes a most sorry showing. Before Colorado women had the franchise, they vainly used the great "silent influence" in an effort to have kindergartens made part of the public-school system. After the adoption of equal suffrage, they forced the reform within a year.

Massachusetts, where the women "keep their place in the

home," and depend entirely upon "silent influence," worked fifty-five years getting one little law making the mother equal guardian of minor children with the father. Colorado women received suffrage in 1893, and in 1894 they put this law on the statute books.

The fact that comparatively few women have been elevated to high official position in Colorado is entirely traceable to the voting woman's own initial desire. After equal suffrage had been granted them in 1893, there was a tacit agreement, a sort of "unwritten law," that women should not rush into office-seeking.

But while there has been no office-seeking, women have not shirked responsibility. When the masculine mind came to the conclusion that educational matters called for feminine supervision, the women responded, and have invariably made splendid records. Since 1894 both parties have nominated women for the office of state superintendent of public instruction, and out of the sixty county superintendents of schools in Colorado, forty are women. Quite a number of women have held, and are holding, important municipal and county offices; some ten odd have sat in the Legislature; four women worked masterfully on a Denver charter board, and all the state boards have women members who are a credit to the state.

It is to be wished that a Colorado election day could be taken on tour. If "tourist critics" are to be believed, and credence given the anonymous liars that "stuff" the Eastern press, the Colorado election is a rare combination of Moulin Rouge orgy and western dance-hall scene. It is a shame to spoil so colorful an illusion, but truth compels the humiliating admission that election day in Colorado is marked by the most absolute matter-of-factness, the very quintessence of normality. Excited by accounts of the doings of English "suffragettes," and keyed to high expectation by lurid slanders, the visitor comes primed for something beyond the ordinary, and is pained and disappointed to find no departure from the usual. The day, except for an entire lack of drunkenness and disorder, is not one whit different from election days in states where only male suffrage obtains.

Mrs. Helen Grenfell, three times elected state superintendent of public instruction, has made three campaigns through the state, visiting every county, and may properly be regarded as an expert witness. "In seventeen years' exercise of the franchise," Mrs. Grenfell testifies, "I have yet to see an intoxicated man, to hear an oath, or see discourteous action toward any woman at the polling places, although informed that in rare instances such things have occurred in a few of the less desirable localities."

It is not the Colorado custom for women to electioneer, but even in those cases where they remain about the polling places, distributing literature or cards, dignity is rarely laid aside and even the familiarities of persuasiveness are not employed. There is an unwritten law among them that forbids this sort of thing, and the woman who wishes to play an important part in politics must carefully guard against the disapproval of her sex.

This, of course, applies to the residence wards and the average family woman. The ballot does not endow the unskilled laborer's ignorant wife with the manners of a Vere de Vere, nor lift the prostitute above her shame. And in this connection, let the vote of the "red light" district be considered. For if the word of slander is to be taken, Colorado elections are controlled by the "immoral vote," and every election day affords opportunity for prostitution's triumph.

This is a charge that is easily made, and one that is very effective with many worthy people, for bare mention of the social evil excites a certain repugnance that is opposed to fair consideration. It has the terror of the leper's bell, the horror of things unclean. But, in leveling the charge, one or two assumptions must be made. Either there are more prostitutes than decent women in Colorado, or else the prostitutes vote and the decent women do not. Honest inquiry, however, meets with few difficulties. In Colorado prostitution is confined to its four or five cities, and only exists in the balance of the state as a wind-blown evil that follows the rise and fall of mining camps.

Denver, as the largest city in the state, contains the largest number of prostitutes. In considering Denver then, the anti-equal-suffragist would seem to have the fairest chance of proving his contention, while the equal-suffragist might well claim unfairness in taking the metropolis instead of the average town. But what do the figures show?

Chief of Police Armstrong puts the number of professional prostitutes in Denver at five hundred, and establishes the "red light district" as precincts, 1, 2 and 3 in the fourth ward. The board of election commissioners furnishes these figures on female registration and voting in those precincts:

	Registered.	Voted.
Precinct 1	54	46
Precinct 2	61	53
Precinct 3	61	45
	176	144

The commissioners, by reason of facts stated on the registration books, advise that ten per cent of this number be considered as respectable women—wives of unskilled laborers, etc. Deducting this ten per cent, the total Denver registration of prostitutes at the last election was 159, with only 130 voting.

A little intelligent thought will quickly prove that the professional prostitute does not want to vote. In nine cases out of ten, she plies her unhappy trade under an assumed name, and the exercise of the suffrage right forces her into the open and entails admissions she would fain conceal. The class is, of course, under the thumb of the police, and there have been campaigns when certain "City Hall machines" did drag the unfortunate creatures to the polls. But public sentiment has declared against this so furiously, that the practice has entirely ceased. A political party in Colorado could not invite surer doom than by herding the "immoral vote" to the polls.

But even did the whole 500 vote instead of 130, and cast their ballots solidly at some behest, how could it

possibly have effect? At the last election almost 30,000 women voted in Denver. What are 500 votes compared to this number? And yet the lie that the "immoral vote" swings Colorado elections has had weight in the land, and is even the occasion of head-wagging among the uninformed, easily impressed in Colorado itself.

And now for that other assumption—the inference that the "good women" do not vote, and do not "want to vote." The following figures are furnished by Denver in the election of 1908:

	Women.	Men.
Registered	35,620	41,540
Voted	29,084	36,891
Not voting	6,536	4,649

Reliable statistics with regard to voting are not obtainable, but such figures as are at hand prove that the percentage of women who register is larger than that of men. But, returning to Denver, the election commissioners furnish these figures, taken from the last general election:

Prec.	Ward.	Reg.	Voted.	Reg.	Voted.
14	8	369	300	348	299
7	10	176	141	203	176
1	15	262	221	267	244
Total	807	662	662	818	719

In explanation, Precinct 14, Eighth Ward, is a well-to-do residence district with a large percentage of professional people; Precinct 7, Tenth Ward, is a wealthy, fashionable neighborhood, and Precinct 1, Fifteenth Ward, is an average section in a working-class district. So it may be seen that women of all classes do vote, and are availing themselves of the suffrage right. Statistics compiled for the last ten years show that from thirty-two to forty-eight per cent of Colorado's vote is cast by women—a remarkable record when it is considered that women constitute forty-five per cent of the population.

And, another item of interest and importance, the percentage of registration to voting population runs higher in Colorado than in any other state. Feminine interest in public affairs has forced a keener activity on the part of men; for what head of the family would let his women folk outdo him in something that has long been considered a purely masculine prerogative? Colorado even proportionately furnishes no such figures as Boston, where 40,000 men failed to vote at one election.

There has always been outcry against the "apathy and indifference" of the man voter, and the history of male suffrage is thick with stupidities, crimes and ignorances. Why, then, is it fair to demand that women straightway vote in enthusiasm, with superhuman intelligence and unerring honesty? And yet, even though the most rigid test be applied, what fair man can deny that the seventeen years' record of equal suffrage in Colorado has not been its ample justification?

Under male suffrage there were three "dry" towns in the State of Colorado. Under equal suffrage a local-option law was put on the statute books, and there are now fifty "dry" towns and twelve "dry" counties. And it may also be mentioned that Denver is one of the few cities in the land that has no saloon-keepers in its council.

The liquor interests hate the voting woman because they can not fool her out of her antagonism. The public service corporations fear the voting woman because they can not "handle" her. And who so blind as to deny the political partnership of the saloon and the franchise-grabbing corporations? These corrupt and malign influences have always worked together, and are working together now in the desperate endeavor to prevent the spread of equal suffrage. The gambler, saloonkeeper, macquereau and barrelhouse boss—the respectable criminals who fatten on franchises and the exploitation of the people—these are the people at the bottom of the anti-suffrage agitation! They constitute the secret influence that is inflaming conservatism and traditional prejudices!

The honest man is not vicious in his opposition to equal suffrage. At worst it is, as has been explained, no more than a matter of sex antagonism or a survival of the feudal instinct. Is it not significant that no reputable Colorado man has yet come out in dénonciation of equal suffrage? Men are in the majority in Colorado, and surely, if the Colorado man is opposed to the law, and desires its repeal, a candidate could not have a more profitable platform than the law's abolition.

As a matter of fact, equal suffrage was practically resubmitted in 1901, when people voted on the proposition to strike "male" out of the constitution of the state. Equal suffrage has had an eight years' trial, and benefits were much less marked than now. Yet the proposition carried by 35,000.

Discussion of equal suffrage in other states may be governed by tradition and prejudice, but experience and practice have made the Colorado man come down to "brass tacks." Some may still retain a vague antagonism, but not one but has more sense than to advance the arguments that enjoy vogue in the East.

The chief conceded faults of women are the faults of a mind that has been cooped up, circumscribed by small household activities. The Colorado man has come to understand that the broadening influence of equal suffrage remedies these faults, and works for their elimination.

It is claimed that woman should not have the ballot because she has shown unfitness in grappling with the "servant problem."

In Colorado the "servant problem" is recognized as a "labor problem," and what man will claim that male votes have solved it? President Taft's own answer to the request for solution was "God knows!"

The attainments of culture—these "parlor accomplishments" that are urged upon women—what are they, in the last analysis, but self-adornment? The broadening of politics is different from the broadening of culture, for the one has a social and public purpose, and the other is personal and selfish.

formerly. As a rule the nominees are better morally, but it does not follow that they are always more efficient than formerly.

In Colorado the women succeeded in getting the emblems removed from the ballots, and have long prosecuted the fight for the pure Australian ballot, by the which the voter must put his mark opposite each candidate, and can no longer vote a straight ticket by writing a party name at the top of his ballot. Colorado women began working for the Initiative and Referendum 20 years ago, when most of the men knew little about it, and finally secured the passage of this amendment to the constitution and its adoption two years ago. Washington women also won this great reform for that state. The Colorado women have long worked for a primary law; finally one has been passed, and, while it is not all they desired, still it is felt that it is a step in the right direction. The recall and subsequent defeat of Mayor Gill of Seattle was a "reform due to women."

This, however, has really nothing to do with the question of the enfranchisement of women. Unless men were disfranchised, it cannot be expected that women will entirely change the political atmosphere in a few elections. It must be borne in mind that the men outnumber the women in every state in which women vote, and men will do themselves and permit others to do things in a campaign that they would not think of doing at any other time.

Woman's Journal. 43: 180. June 8, 1912.

Minnie Bronson's Fallacies. Alice S. Blackwell.

Anti-suffragists are circulating a pamphlet by Miss Minnie Bronson, in which she claims that the chief reason why protective legislation for the working woman is adopted is because she lacks the ballot, and that where she has it, "the inference is that she must give as many hours of toil per day as man." Miss Bronson affirms also that the suffrage

states are behind the majority of non-suffrage states in legislation for working women. Let us dissect this audacious assertion.

There are six suffrage states—California, Washington, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming and Idaho. California and Washington have eight-hour laws for women. Miss Bronson says that these were enacted “under male suffrage.” As regards Washington, this statement is directly contrary to fact. Before women got the ballot, the advocates of shorter hours in Washington had tried for eight years to secure an eight-hour law for women without success. After equal suffrage was granted the Legislature promptly passed the bill.

In California, the eight-hour law was passed a short time before the ballot was granted; but, as it was passed by the same Legislature which also passed the woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution by a vote of 33 to 5 in the Senate and 65 to 12 in the Assembly, it certainly does not bear out Miss Bronson’s claim that such legislation for the working woman is adopted “above all because she is not herself a law-maker.”

Colorado passed an eight-hour law for women in 1903, but in 1907 it was thrown out by the State Supreme Court as unconstitutional. In the last Colorado Legislature, a more comprehensive eight-hour law for women passed the lower house with only one dissenting vote, but was blocked in the Senate, like almost all other legislation in that year, by the deadlock over the U. S. Senatorship.

Utah adopted a nine-hour law for women in 1911. Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohen of Salt Lake City, chairman of the Industrial committee of the State federation of women’s clubs, told in *The Woman’s Journal* of May 27, 1911, how the passage of the bill was secured. It was backed by women’s organizations with an aggregate membership of 50,000. Mrs. Cohen says:

“The large number of women represented was both inspiring and appalling—inspiring the women’s committee to give the best that was in them, and appalling to the legislator who would like to be re-elected two years hence, and

realized that 50,000 votes stood back of that representation. His discomfiture was increased by the knowledge that some of his constituents, who were identified with corporations and special interests, would demand an accounting. The power of 50,000 votes prevailed. . . . If women had not had the vote we should not have succeeded."

Idaho and Wyoming as yet lack laws for the protection of women in industry because they have so few women engaged in industry outside their homes. In answer to a complaint from an Eastern anti-suffragist that Idaho had no law limiting factory hours for women, Mrs. Eva Hunt Dockery, for ten years a member of the Legislative committee of the State federation of women's clubs, wrote in *The Woman's Journal* of Dec. 17, 1910: "Idaho has no factories where women are employed, so the need of this law has not been felt. Up to a very few years ago there was not a department store in the state, and the clerks in the stores were treated as they were in the good old days in the East, like members of the family." The census of 1900 showed only 59 women in Idaho engaged in factory work, and only 47 in Wyoming, as against 126,093 in Pennsylvania, 143,109 in Massachusetts, and 230,181 in New York.

Anti-suffragists often charge that the tendency of woman suffrage will be to take women out of the home and put them into industry. As it happens, all the states in which enormous numbers of women are working for wages outside their homes are non-suffrage states. The need of protective legislation for working women, therefore, has not been nearly so urgent in the suffrage states as elsewhere; yet a much larger proportion of the suffrage states have passed eight or nine-hour laws for women than of the non-suffrage states.

They have also done it with more ease. Massachusetts has just secured a 54-hour a week law as the culmination of about 40 years of effort for improved conditions for working women. The Utah women got the nine-hour law from the first Legislature from which they asked it.

Woman's Journal. 43: 117. April 13, 1912.

Suffrage Fills the Bill.

The discussion of woman suffrage by the Ohio Fourth Constitutional Convention called forth the following expressions from the Governors of five suffrage states:

Denver, Colo., Feb. 19, 1912.

I am glad that Ohio is contemplating adopting a constitution which will give equal suffrage to women. It has been a great success in Colorado; women always will be found upon the moral side of every question. It cannot be that our mothers, sisters and wives would have anything but an elevating influence on government.

John F. Shafroth, Governor.

Boise, Idaho, Feb. 21, 1912.

Am gratified to learn through press reports that Constitutional Convention will submit woman suffrage to vote of people of Ohio, and feel certain the Buckeye State will follow her progressive sister commonwealths in the enfranchisement of her women. All Idaho wishes your cause success, as experience here has justified its wisdom.

James Hawley, Governor.

Cheyenne, Wyo., March 1, 1912.

In this state for many years women have had the right to vote and hold office. I have watched the operation of the law conferring these rights upon women with a great deal of interest, and I have been unable to see any disadvantages or any objection that could be raised against it. We have never had any militant suffragists in this state. Women exercises her rights to vote and hold office as a matter of course.

We are a new state; in a certain sense a frontier state. I am satisfied that women's influence in political matters has been good. I know it has been a great advantage to

woman, as girls in school and in young womanhood make preparation to hold positions of responsibility in civil as well as in official life. Not two per cent of the voters would deprive woman of her rights in this state.

I think that woman has as many inherent rights in a political way as man has, and she is as fully competent to exercise those rights. There is scarcely a man who is deprived of the right to vote and hold office. In this state about the only restrictions upon those who have reached their majority and are citizens, are such as inability to read the Constitution of the United States, being a convict or insane. The same restrictions, and only the same, apply to men and women alike.

Within the last few years I have been more strongly impressed that it is right that women should vote and hold office, because of the fact that many women have come into very important and responsible positions.

Joseph M. Carey, Governor.

Olympia, Wash., Feb. 20, 1912.

During the short time woman suffrage has been in effect in this state, a profound interest has been manifested among all women in the study of civic questions and the promotion of legislation and projects designed to advance the best interest of the people of the state. They are taking their responsibility seriously and providing a powerful agency of progress.

M. E. Hay, Governor.

Sacramento, Cal.

I cannot do better than to say that since the adoption of the Equal Suffrage Amendment in California, three important city elections have been held. One of these city elections, that at Los Angeles, was the most exciting and most bitterly contested ever held in this state, and, it was believed, fraught with the gravest consequences to that community. In these elections, the first test of equal suffrage with us, the women of California acquitted themselves with firmness, courage, ability, and with the very highest intelligence. If

these elections are a fair indication of the practical working of equal suffrage, California will never regret the adoption of the amendment. Hiram W. Johnson, Governor.

Ministers On Votes for Women.

Alice S. Blackwell.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, a short time before her death, sent a circular letter, asking whether the results of equal suffrage were good or bad, to all the Episcopal clergymen, and to the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist and Baptist ministers in the suffrage states; to all the Congregational Sunday school superintendents (the other denominations do not publish the names of the superintendents in their religious year-books), and to the editors of the newspapers. In all, 624 answers were received. Of these, 62 were opposed, 46 in doubt, and 516 in favor.

The replies from the Episcopal clergymen were favorable, more than two to one; those of the Baptist ministers, seven to one; those of the Congregational ministers, about eight to one; of the Methodists, more than ten to one, and of the Presbyterians, more than eleven to one.

Of the Sunday school superintendents, one was opposed and one in doubt; all the rest were favorable.

The editors expressed themselves in favor, more than eight to one.

The ministers and editors are practically unanimous in saying that equal suffrage has made women more intelligent companions for their husbands and better able to instruct their children. Almost all are agreed that it has broadened women's minds and led them to take more interest in public questions. A large number say that it has helped to obtain liberal appropriations for school purposes and for humanitarian objects, and has made it harder for notoriously corrupt candidates to be nominated or elected; that equal suffrage does not lead to divorces, and that women enjoy increased influence because of having the ballot. Most of the

ministers emphatically deny that immoral women control the elections.

The testimony is practically the same from all four states and from all parts of those states.

Family Suffrage in New Zealand.

Hon. Hugh H. Lusk, an ex-member of the New Zealand Parliament, traveling in America for his health, spoke as follows in an address at the May festival of the New England Woman suffrage association:

"Up to 1877, we had no idea of giving woman suffrage in New Zealand.

"It was done, not by argument, but by experiment. I had a little to do with the first experiment, which was the extension of suffrage to a small class of women.

"By the Education act of 1877, the householders of each district were empowered to elect a committee of seven of their number to have charge of the schools of the district. I had much to do with this act. While the bill was in committee, another member suggested to me that it would be a good thing to leave out the word 'male' before 'householder.'

"I saw no objection and moved it. This was the first thin end of the big wedge by which full suffrage has been given to all the women in New Zealand.

"The women got the school vote, and used it. They did not say, 'Oh dear, no, it wouldn't be proper!' They went to the polls and voted for the best men. They took so much interest that at the next election some women were elected to the school boards, and they showed so much aptitude for this sort of work that when, in 1882, the license question came up, it was proposed that women ratepayers, as well as men ratepayers, should help choose the board of commissioners in each district who control the issuing of licenses.

"This met with great objection. We were told that now indeed we should utterly destroy the character of the ladies, for all the worst elements would be brought in contact with them, and would make things very unpleasant for them. We

said, 'we don't believe the men of New Zealand are as bad as you think, and, if they are, they are not to be trusted to vote alone for these boards of license commissioners.' The women were given the license to vote. To the surprise and disappointment of their opponents, they voted well, and met with no trouble, and certainly they greatly improved the licensing boards.

"Then we felt that we could go a little further, and gave the women the right to vote at municipal elections and to serve on municipal boards. I know one woman who acted for two years as mayor (not mayoress) of a very prosperous little town, and did as well as any mayor could have done.

"I have always said what I thought, and in some cases have said it till I was in danger of being pelted off the platform. This is one minor reason why I believe in woman suffrage. No one is pelted now.

"Women attend all the political meetings, and it has done an immense deal of good. When men congregate by themselves, they get excited and sometimes misbehave. Women, perhaps, do the same. It is not good for women, either, to be alone.

"It seemed queer at first to find half the benches at a political meeting occupied by ladies; but when the men have got accustomed to it, they do not like the other thing.

"When they found that they could take their wives and daughters to these meetings, and afterwards take them home and talk about it, it was the beginning of a new life for the family, a life of ideas and interest in common, and a unison of thought.

"The influence of equal suffrage has been rather against the milliners and dressmakers; there is not so much time for criticizing one's neighbors' bonnets and cloaks. Gossip cannot be cured in any way so well as by taking an interest in public affairs.

"The family is the foundation of the state. We find that equal suffrage is the greatest family bond and tie, the greatest strengthener of family life. Under equal suffrage, the family is taking the place of the individual. People are

coming to vote as families. The persons whom they approve when they talk them over in the family are those whom they vote for when they go to the polls.

"The members of a family generally vote alike, though it is impossible to swear to this, as the ballot is absolutely secret. But we see in it the changed character of the men who are elected. The men who are successful now are not just the same sort that were successful before. Character is more regarded than cleverness. It is asked about every candidate, 'Has he a good record? Is he above suspicion, an honorable man, a useful citizen, pure of any suspicion of complicity with corrupt politics?' That is the man who, under the combined suffrage of men and women, gets the largest number of votes and is elected. This is the greatest benefit that comes from suffrage.

"I do not deify suffrage. There might be a state of things in which universal suffrage would become the worst of tyrannies; but with both men and women voting, there is little danger of this. I see in New York the grievous results of half-universal suffrage; but I believe these would be swept away by the other half."

Woman's Journal. 43: 179. June 8, 1912.

Suffrage Helps Homes.

"Women in Australian Politics" is the title of a very interesting article by Theresa Hirschl Russell in the *Coming Nation* of May 25. The author has lately visited the antipodes, and made many interesting observations. She says, in part:

"It is a curious fact that in the United States today arguments for and against woman's enfranchisement still partake so largely of generalities of sentiment and of what Mark Twain calls the 'easy form of prophecy.' While we are still engaged in this conflict of abstractions, two English-speaking countries, remote from us in miles, but not in civilization, might furnish the practical demonstration of experience.

A Settled Question

"In Australia and New Zealand theorizing about woman's suffrage is extinct as the dodo. In these countries everybody knows the practical results and can hardly believe that the rest of the world is unaware of them. 'A woman's place is the home' or 'unsexing womankind,' as the subject of an argument against woman's suffrage, would awaken in the average Australian or New Zealander today as much amazement as a discussion of the propriety of a woman's appearing in public with unveiled features."

Mrs. Russell found that in Australia and New Zealand, as elsewhere, women are divided into progressives and conservatives; but the progressives were the more numerous. She says:

"Contrary to prediction, in Australasia women are proving to be as an electorate more radical than men. They are on the whole less bound by tradition and the sacred rights of property when these conflict with human rights, less ready to continue to tolerate oppression and injustice merely because they have become sanctioned by the ages.

Women Fight Injustice

"While the female electorate can scarcely in any case be said to vote as a unit, they have undoubtedly been largely instrumental in both Australia and New Zealand in the passing of various acts protecting women and children and looking to the removal of those sex disabilities under whose injustice, through the inheritance of barbarous English laws, the sex has labored for centuries.

"The majority of them have supported also the various progressive and humanitarian measures initiated by the labor government, such as workingmen's compensation, old-age pensions, the minimum wage law and other measures bettering the hard conditions of labor in mines and factories, in respect to which these antipodal countries have advanced beyond other nations, and far beyond the United States."

Australian Parliament Testifies

Mrs. Russell quotes the resolution passed in 1910 by the National Parliament of the Federated Australia:

(1) That the extension of the suffrage to the women of Australia for state and commonwealth Parliaments has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the more orderly conduct of elections, and at the last federal elections the women's vote in a majority of the states showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by men. It has given a greater prominence to legislation particularly affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In matters of defence and imperial concern they have proved themselves as discriminating and farseeing as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women.

(2) That a copy of the foregoing resolution be cabled to the British Prime Minister.

This passed the lower house unanimously, and the Senate with only four dissenting votes. The four Senators said nothing against woman suffrage per se, but urged that it was not becoming for a young country like Australia to give the mother country advice. Senator de Largie replied: "We have experience of woman suffrage. In this respect being politically older than the mother country, we have the right to proffer her advice."

Woman Healthier and Brighter

Mrs. Russell found the man in the street to be of the same opinion:

"The average man in Australia, asked his opinion on the subject, gives testimony that is at least a pleasing departure from the time-worn theme of 'neglect of home duties' with which we in this country are still being edified, a reproach for some reason not applied to time spent at bridge or the

matinee, but reserved for any expression of interest on a woman's part in her country's welfare. The general testimony of Mr. Australian Male Citizen is that, since his wife has taken an interest in politics, she has enjoyed better health and brighter spirits, and, instead of coming home to a chronicle of domestic grievances, he now finds a woman interested in current events and ready to discuss with him the general questions of the day."

National Geographic Magazine. 21: 487-93. June, 1910.

Where Women Vote. Alletta Korff.

Before the suffrage was granted to women the vast majority of requests made by them for the investigation of the conditions of life among women workers—for example, women factory-workers—were treated with polite indifference; now that women have the vote, all of their official requests receive serious consideration. Two women factory inspectors have been appointed, and a special appropriation has been made for the work of an investigating committee.

No one who followed the heated debates aroused by the bills concerning the "Married woman's property act," the "Extension of the mothers' rights over their children," and the "Abolition of the husband's guardianship over his wife," can doubt the practical advantage that women have gained by having women representatives in Parliament. An article which appeared in the *Jus Suffragii* while the bills were pending says: "The women members of the Law committee, to which the bills are referred, have had to stand a hard fight. The men members in the committee, of all parties, whether bourgeois or Social Democrat, held that only the 'women's-rights women' urged the revision of the marriage laws, and the rest of woman kind was content with the status quo. When this became known, protests came from all sides. Women of all sorts and conditions sent signed petitions to some of the women members of Parliament urging the revision of the marriage laws, and most of the

women's associations took up the question and passed resolutions giving moral support to the women members, and urging the points in the bills upon the marriage question."

Moreover, the possession of the franchise has been of practical use to women, not only by giving them the possibility of improving the conditions of their work and extending their legal rights, but also by helping them directly to better their economic position. Not long ago a test case was brought up by a woman teacher in one of the high schools, who claimed that as she was doing the same work as the men teachers and had passed the same examination, she should be given the same salary. After a short discussion her request was granted, whereas similar requests made before women had the franchise had not been granted.

Schools to Teach Girls to Become Efficient Wives and Mothers

But as might be expected, the chief interest of the women has been to improve the condition of children. Over 50 per cent of the bills introduced into the three successive Diets have concerned the welfare of children. Many have been for rendering medical aid to poor women throughout the country districts, and for instructing them in the proper methods of caring for infants; many have treated of the improvement and extension of the public-school system and the care of school children; still others have dealt with special classes of children, orphans, waifs, and juvenile delinquents.

Now that the system of home instruction and private tutoring have passed perhaps forever—practically all children of nine or ten are sent to schools, and a large number of them to public schools—it seems only natural that women should take a tolerably intelligent interest in the management and direction of those schools and the state or municipal laws which govern them. When, too, in these days of democracy, the great majority of boys and a large number of girls also must look forward to earning their own living, it is only to be expected that women should feel the vital

importance of investigating and, if possible, ameliorating the conditions of industrial life.

One of the noteworthy reforms undertaken by the women has been the establishment of schools of domestic training throughout the country—schools intended to teach young girls to become efficient and capable wives and mothers. These schools are of great importance, especially in the country districts and among the poorer class of people. They are becoming most valuable factors in the cultured development of the country, and are doing more than could perhaps be done in any other way to raise the general standards of living.

Thus the women have succeeded in materially bettering their own position; but they have done much more, for they have also carried through reforms of wide-reaching importance to the moral and social life of the whole community. A striking proof of this may be shown by the fact that in the church synod held in 1908 it was decided to grant women the elective suffrage for sundry church offices.

This motion was brought before one of the most conservative bodies in the country by a member of the synod who had previously been opposed to granting the political suffrage to women, and who introduced the motion of his own accord, saying that since the women had proved themselves such efficient social and political workers, he felt that it would be an advantage to the church if they should be made eligible to many church offices.

The experience of three years of woman suffrage in Finland has proved, I think, beyond doubt that the emancipation of women is not a thing to be feared or dreaded, but merely a natural step in the evolution of modern society.

When the suffrage was extended to the women they responded with interest and enthusiasm, and have shown themselves capable of serving on all the various legislative committees. They have not disturbed the political balance of power, but have maintained it precisely as before, uniting as women only for the furtherance of social and legal reforms of importance to women, but also of very vital im-

portance to the welfare and prosperity of the community at large.

Families have not been broken up by the woman's vote; rather have they tended to become more united by a strong bond of common interest. Instead of lessening the interest that women have in the education and the welfare of their children, the suffrage has greatly intensified that interest by making it possible for them to regulate and, in some degree at least, to improve the schools to which their children are sent and the different branches of work which they later undertake.

Experience has shown, too, that when the doors are opened, not all women rush madly into political life, but only those who are specially qualified for it; that for the vast majority of women the duties of the franchise consist in little more than casting their ballots, and that even the women who participate actively in political life devote no more time to it than they devoted previously to their extra domestic occupations or professions—that is, that even the small number of women who actually sit in Parliament need not neglect their homes unduly. But last and most important of all, it has shown that the cause that women have most at heart is the care and welfare of children.

NEGATIVE DISCUSSION

Forum. 43: 495-504. May, 1910.

Some Facts About Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage.

Mrs. Gilbert E. Jones.

What is wanted in politics is real work, thorough work, honest and more efficient work, not mere sham. Are women ready for better work, than men are now doing? Hardly, and women will find it no easy task to do sufficiently well to outstrip the best class of political workers. The man is in constant contact with men, and face to face with events. He is in the larger world; he is everywhere, and he has become familiar with the workings of the political machinery. Woman will always take observation from some protected quarter. She will generally obtain such fragments of legislation and activities, as appear on the surface. But of the vital, fighting political struggle which constantly goes on, and not generally in public view, the woman necessarily will learn what she knows only by hearsay or from some male informer. Women are not concerned equally with men in the character of government, and they very rarely have an equal knowledge of political events, even when their fathers, husbands and brothers are statesmen or politicians.

Woman suffragists proclaim that women need the ballot for their own protection,—and that men make laws for women which are unjust and oppressive, and that women must have the law-making power in their own hands in order to secure fair play. American women do not need a law-making power,—for on the whole, the laws are even far more favorable to women (in many states) than they would have been if women, with their smaller understanding of vital conditions, had made the laws for themselves.

Have we come to the point when women must defend themselves against men or women? One man is generally stronger than one woman! And do women propose to *fight* laws into existence to protect them? The voting power is based on force. The rule of the majority is at the bottom the rule of force. Sixty thousand voters yield to a hundred thousand voters, not because they believe them to be wiser than themselves, but because they know them to be stronger. When they do not believe them to be stronger, they do not yield, they resist, and we have a rebellion. Women who ask for the ballot do not know the real meaning and significance of universal manhood suffrage, or they would never use the term "equal suffrage."

Constitutional government is not a haphazard, unformed, shapeless institution, as many women seem to think. It has distinct form, established restrictions, and a very valid reason for *not* asking woman to have a voice in government.

A republic vests the power of the government in the will of the people. But if that power rests in a portion of the people that cannot sustain their will,—if the voting power is in the hands of an aristocracy or a favored class, that cannot uphold or retain that power unto themselves—then we are entertaining a false state of affairs, which is contrary to the fundamental principles of our constitutional government.

All voting at the polls must ultimately feel the pulse of a national and vital force back of it, and women cannot be that force. Men not only *can*, but *must* be that, if they accept the privileges of the franchise. Their allegiance to the state is a guarantee for its safety, its stability, and its maintenance in time of war and of peace.

The reason why men vote in this country is because they can be made *liable* for the continuance of law and order, and can be called upon for state duty and service. Uncle Sam permits a full-grown man of the age of twenty-one years to be a voter, with only a few qualifications such as age, place of residence, etc. Women are within the age and residence qualifications, and they offer morality, intelligence and tax-

paying qualifications besides. Government, however, does not impose these qualifications on men, and men do not *vote* because they are moral, intelligent, or taxpayers *only*. Government asks the man to accept the responsibility of maintaining it, of preserving its very existence. Man forms the *ONLY* basis on which any government *can* rest. In a democracy this is, and must be, the keynote of the whole structure. The man is the rock on which the government is built, whatever its form. The woman never was and never will be. Giving the man the vote is nothing more than a recognition of this fact. Giving women the vote would be to deny it.

Citizenship is a granted right, not a natural one, derived and regulated by each country or state according to its ideas of government. The argument of the suffragist that a voter and a citizen should be one and the same is incorrect. Citizens can be and have been disfranchised, but can still remain citizens and have all of a citizen's privileges.

Chief Justice Waite of the United States Supreme Court decided that citizenship carried with it no voting power or right, and the same decision has been handed down by many courts in disposing of other test cases. A citizen of the District of Columbia has all the privileges of citizenship, but he cannot vote, since that is a state right and the District of Columbia is not a state.

Citizenship merely, does not entitle a man to vote. Government grants that privilege and enrolls on its lists of voters those who must be made liable for the state's safety and stability. Government does not let a man vote just to express his viewpoints by dropping a bit of paper in the ballot box. It demands the service and allegiance of a voter to the point of giving his life, as 500,000 men did during the civil war.

Men and women could not enjoy our present civilization if government had not that backing. In time of peace citizens must have a guarantee for life and property; it is just this force of the male voter that can be called upon when needed. This is a part of our strong constitutional, democratic government.

Men and women are both citizens and enjoy exactly the same privileges of governmental administration, such as gas, light, police, schools, sound money, protection of life and property, sewers, paved streets, transportation, hospitals, courts, judges, law and order, and what not?

In no other country, and at no other time has the world seen such material progress, such social and moral advancement, as in our own land during the last 130 years; and investigation shows that woman's progress has been no less marked than that of population, wealth and industry.

We find in the general advancement of women, in the improvement of her economic position, in her social and civic influence, and in her opportunity for culture, a thing without parallel in the history of the world. And we anti-suffragists can say with pride that all this has been accomplished without granting women the ballot.

Women should organize and form associations, as men have done if they intend to command a standard wage. Supply and demand will do the rest. Miss Summer in her book *Equal Suffrage* clearly shows that women and children are no better paid in the four states where women vote than in the states where they do not vote.

In suffrage states, taking public employment as a whole, women receive considerably lower remuneration than men. As teachers, women receive lower salaries on the average, than men, as is shown in Table 19 of Miss Summer's book. The conclusion is inevitable that, on the whole, men teachers are better paid in Colorado than women teachers. "Equal pay for equal work" does not exist in woman-suffrage states any more than it does elsewhere. These suffrage states are not very encouraging as object lessons for us in the east.

Colorado was admitted into the Union in 1876, and great efforts were made by suffragists to secure the "Centennial" state. This resulted in a submission of the question to the people, who rejected it by a majority of 7,443 in a total vote of 20,665. From the first of the agitation for the free coinage of silver, Colorado has been enthusiastically in favor of that measure. In 1892 her devotion to it caused all parties

to unite on that issue and gave the vote of the state to General Weaver, Populist candidate for president, and to David H. Waite, Populist candidate for governor. The question of woman suffrage was re-submitted to the people at this election, and the constitutional amendment concerning it was carried by a majority of only 5,000 in a total vote of 200,000. Neither that movement nor its results present triumphant democracy.

Colorado is most frequently cited as the banner suffrage state; yet there, the granting of the ballot has not yet purified politics.

The effect upon party politics has been very slight. Politics are as corrupt in Colorado as in any state in the Union. Judge Lindsay has just written an article in *Everybody's Magazine*, entitled "The Beast and the Jungle," which certainly does not indicate either peace or purity in politics.

Probably the Juvenile Court of Colorado has been most often pointed to as a triumph of a woman's ballot.

Yet, in *nineteen* out of the twenty-two states which have juvenile courts to-day, women do not vote. Moreover, in the four in which they do, *two* are without such courts.

Nor was Colorado the *first* to establish such a court, but instead, Massachusetts, where three years before the women of the state had rejected equal suffrage.

In other words, it would appear that the Juvenile Court *can be* and *is* achievable *without* the *female* ballot.

In Colorado, divorces are more easily obtained than in our own state, and after a very short period of time.

Suffragists say women should make their own laws—but after forty years of woman suffrage in Utah and Wyoming, we find that like all other states men make the laws and women derive many benefits from them. Women do not do jury duty, and are not judged by peers of their own sex, nor is there any demand for such a state of affairs.

Utah was the first territory in this country in which woman suffrage gained a foothold.

Woman Suffrage was co-incident with the establishment of the Mormon church, and it came as a legitimate part of

the union of church and state, of communism, of polygamy.

The *dangers* that especially threaten a Constitutional or *Republican form* of government are *anarchy, communism, and religious bigotry*; and two of these found their fullest expression in this country, in the Mormon creed and practice.

Woman Suffrage was secured in Wyoming by means that bring dishonor upon democracy.

Wyoming was organized as a Territory in 1868. Many of its native settlers were from Utah.

The *History of Woman Suffrage* records the fact that the measure was secured in the first territorial legislature through the political trickery of an illiterate and discredited man, who was in the chair.

Mr. Bryce, in *The American Commonwealth* alludes in a note to the same fact.

Women voted in 1870. In 1871 a bill was passed repealing the suffrage act, but was vetoed by the governor, on the ground that, having been admitted, it must be given a fair trial.

An attempt to pass the repeal over his veto was *lost* by a *single vote*.

Certainly, the entrance of woman suffrage into Wyoming was not a *triumph of democratic progress and principle*.

In 1894 the Populist party of Idaho put a plank in its platform favoring the submission of a woman-suffrage amendment to the people. In 1896 the Free Silver Populist movement swept the state. A majority of the votes cast on the suffrage question were cast in its favor, but not a majority of all the votes cast at the election. The supreme courts have generally held that, in so important a matter, a complete majority vote was required, but the Supreme Court of Idaho did not so hold, and woman suffrage is now established in that state. This, also, is hardly a success of sound democracy.

Taxation and Suffrage.

Frederick Dwight.

Those who advocate woman suffrage are fond of quoting the colonial dictum that taxation without representation is tyranny, and declare that this, one of "the fundamental principles upon which the country was founded," is shamefully violated under present circumstances as far as women are concerned. Women, they say, are taxed. But women have no votes. Having no votes, they are not represented in the tax-laying body. Hence, they conclude, here is taxation without representation.

Any one who has examined the "argument" critically, and realizes what a total lack of connection there is between the dictum and the interpretation put upon it, is inclined to smile at the display of logic and to dismiss the whole matter as nonsense. But, as undoubtedly many people who have not looked into the question sincerely believe that women have here a real grievance, a few words of explanation may not be superfluous.

The colonists declared that taxation without *representation* was tyrannical—which is one thing. The suffragists pretend they said that taxation without *votes* was tyrannical—which is quite another thing. There is nothing unjust in requiring all citizens who can afford it to contribute to the support of the government, whether they vote or not. They get in exchange for their taxes the government's protection to life, liberty and property and all the other benefits of a well-ordered society. The colonists never said or thought that taxation and votes went together and nothing of the kind has ever been attempted. Thousands upon thousands of men, as well as women, in this country are taxed without being able to vote. That is the condition of the residents of the District of Columbia. The property of minors is taxed, yet they have no votes. A man may own taxable property in a dozen different states and yet can vote in only one. Finally the tariff is a tax upon every man, woman and child, citizen and alien alike, in the country.

SELECTED ARTICLES

The truth is, that the phrase "taxation without representation" did not refer to individuals at all, but to the dealings of one commonwealth with another. It did not mean that neither this man nor that woman should be taxed unless he or she were personally represented in the government. The slightest reflection will show the absurdity of such a construction. At most, only those would be personally represented who voted for successful candidates. A man who has not only not voted for those who are elected, and so have power to tax him, but has endeavored to keep them out, cannot be said to be "represented" by them. Yet would any one contend that all adherents of defeated candidates should be absolved from paying taxes because they were not "represented?"

Address before the New York State Constitutional Convention, August 15, 1894.

Elihu Root.

One question to be determined in the discussion of this subject is whether the nature of woman is such that her taking upon her the performance of the functions implied in suffrage will leave her in the possession and the exercise of her highest powers or will be an abandonment of those powers and on entering upon a field in which, because of her differences from man, she is distinctly inferior. Mr. President, I have said that I thought suffrage would be a loss for women. I think so because suffrage implies not merely the casting of the ballot, the gentle and peaceful fall of the snowflake, but suffrage, if it means anything, means entering upon the field of political life, and politics is modified war. In politics there is struggle, strife, contention, bitterness, heart-burning, excitement, agitation, everything which is adverse to the true character of woman. Woman rules to-day by the sweet and noble influences of her character. Put woman into the arena of conflict and she abandons these great weapons which control the world, and she takes into her

hands, feeble and nerveless for strife, weapons with which she is unfamiliar and which she is unable to wield. Woman in strife becomes hard, harsh, unlovable, repulsive; as far removed from that gentle creature to whom we all owe allegiance and to whom we confess submission, as the heaven is removed from the earth. Government, Mr. President, is protection. The whole science of government is the science of protecting life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, of protecting our person, our property, our homes, our wives and our children, against foreign aggression, against civil dissension, against mobs and riots rearing their fearful heads within this peaceful land during the very sessions of this Convention. Against crime and disorder, and all the army of evil, civil society wages its war, and government is the method of protection, protection of us all. The trouble, Mr. President, is not in the principles which underlie government. Men and women alike acknowledge them and would enforce them, honor and truth, and justice and liberty; the difficulty is to find out how to protect them. The difficulty is to frame the measure, to direct the battle, to tell where and how the blows are to be struck and when the defenses are to be erected.

Mr. President, in the divine distribution of powers, the duty and the right of protection rests with the male. It is so throughout nature. It is so with men, and I, for one will never consent to part with the divine right of protecting my wife, my daughter, the women whom I love and the women whom I respect, exercising the birthright of man, and place that high duty in the weak and nerveless hands of those designed by God to be protected rather than to engage in the stern warfare of government.

Woman Suffrage. pp. 11-2, 15.

Ex-Justice Brown.

It is now proposed to extend the right not simply to those who have been unjustly excluded from it, but practical-

ly to double the voting population by including a class which has never exercised the franchise, and of whose qualifications we have no practical knowledge. I look upon the experiment as not without peril. While in the ordinary process of peaceful government no danger may be apprehended, I should fear that in critical moments the generous impulses of women might lead them far astray from the path of safety. Women are far more intense in their convictions than men, and, once an opinion is formed, are prone to overlook the obstacles in the way, the difficulties in bringing about the desired results, or even to give credit to the conscientious convictions of others. As the average man who is defeated in a lawsuit is apt to attribute the outcome either to the bribery of the judge or jury, rather than to the inherent weakness of his case, a woman who is opposed in a favorite scheme or ambition is loth to admit conscientious motives in those who oppose her. Inded, it is a common infirmity of both men and women to have the strongest opinions concerning matters of which we really know the least, and which are the least susceptible of proof. A painful instance of this kind occurred in connection with the anti-canteen law, enacted by Congress a few years ago. Those who were in Washington at the time could not fail to appreciate the fact that the passage of the bill was procured by the efforts of crowds of perfectly respectable, upright and conscientious women, who thronged the halls of the capitol during the debate, practically overawed the members and compelled many of them to vote against their convictions rather than be charged with opposition to the cause of temperance. The consequences are said to be deplorable. Saloons of the lowest class sprang up around the reservations, and if we are to believe the almost universal testimony of army officers, drunkenness increased, arrests increased, desertions increased, though the principle that the United States should no longer be privy to the sale of liquor was fully established.

If I have betrayed an opinion adverse to the bestowal of female suffrage, I am sure it will not be attributed to any opposition to the advancement of the sex in anything that

will contribute to the complete rounding out of their lives, or make them more valuable members of the body politic. My fear is that the right to vote will not elevate their character, but will rather minister to a growing desire of the sex to vindicate their rights by competing with men in what has heretofore been regarded as man's peculiar province. My fear is that success in this effort may do much to brush away that bloom of delicacy and refinement which from time immemorial has won the admiration and evoked the chivalry of the stronger sex; that in becoming politicians they will lose something of the instincts of motherhood; that in winning public favor they will leave behind them something of their attachment to the virtues of private life; that contact with coarse men at the polls will familiarize them with the vulgarities of politics; in short, that in becoming more like men they will become less like women. If I oppose woman suffrage it is not so much because I fear their voting as because I fear their not voting, with the result that the intelligent and educated will refrain, and leave their sex to be represented by the lowest class.

Relation of the Sexes to Government. pp. 5-9.

Edward D. Cope.

The first thought that strikes us in considering the woman-suffrage movement is, that it is a proposition to engage women once more in that "struggle" from which civilization has enabled them in great measure to escape; and that its effect, if long continued and fairly tried, will be to check the development of woman as such, and to bring to bear on her influences of a kind different from those which have been hitherto active. And it becomes an impartial thinker to examine the question more closely, and see whether investigation bears out these impressions or not. We inquire, then, in the first place, Is government a function adapted to the female character, or within the scope of her natural powers? We then endeavor to discover whether her occupation of

this field of action is calculated to promote the mutual sex interest which has been referred to above, and thus to subserve the natural evolution of humanity.

In endeavoring to answer the first question we are at once met by the undoubted fact that woman is physically incapable of carrying into execution any law she may enact. She cannot, therefore, be called on to serve in any executive capacity where law is to be executed on adults. Now service in the support of laws enacted by those who "rule by the consent of the governed" is a *sine qua non* of the right to elect governors. It is a common necessity to which all of the male sex are, during most of their lives, liable to be called on to sustain. This consideration alone, it appears to me, puts the propriety of female suffrage out of the question. The situation is such that the sexes cannot take an equal share of governmental responsibilities even if they should desire to do so. Woman suffrage becomes government by women alone on every occasion where a measure is carried by the aid of woman's votes. If such a measure should be obnoxious to a majority of men, they could successfully defy a party composed of a minority of their own sex and a majority of the women. That this would be done there can be no question, for we have a parallel case in the attempt to carry into effect negro suffrage in some parts of the South. We know the history too well. Intimidation, deception, and the manipulation of the count have nullified the negro vote. How many governors, legislatures, and even presidents have attained their positions in violation of the rights of the ballot during the last twenty years, we may never know. In times of peace and general prosperity these things have excited indignant protest, but nothing more. But when serious issues distract the nation or any part of it, frauds on the ballot and intimidation of voters will be a more serious matter, and will lead to disastrous consequences. We do not want to increase possibilities of such evil portent. Unqualified negro suffrage is, in the writer's estimation, a serious blunder, and woman suffrage would be another. And it is now proposed that we have both combined.

Immunity from service in executing the law would make most women irresponsible voters. But there are other reasons why the questions involved in government are foreign to the thoughts of most women. The characteristics of the female mind have been already described. Most men who have associated much with girls and women remember how many needed lessons they have learned from them in refinement and benevolence; and how they have had, on the other hand, to steel their minds against their aimlessness and pettiness. And from youth to later years they have observed one peculiarity for which no remedy has been yet found, and that is, a pronounced frailty of the rational faculty in thought or action. This characteristic is offset by a strength and elevation of the emotional nature, which shines with inextinguishable luster in the wife and mother. It is to this that man renders the homage of respect, admiration, and such devotion as he is capable of. But are these the qualities for our governors? Men who display personal bias in ever so small a degree, unless accompanied by unusual merits of another kind, are not selected by their fellows for positions of responsibility and trust. Strong understanding, vigorous judgment, and the absence of "fear, favor, and affection," are what men desire in their governors; for only through minds of that character can justice be obtained.

On account of their stronger sympathies girls always think themselves the moral superiors of boys, who are often singularly devoid of benevolence, especially toward the lower animals. Some women imagine, for this reason, that their entire sex is morally the superior of the male. But a good many women learn to correct this opinion. In departments of morals which depend on the emotional nature, women are the superior; for those which depend on the rational nature, man is the superior. When the balance is struck, I can see no inferiority on either side. But the quality of justice remains with the male. It is on this that men and women must alike depend, and hence it is that women so often prefer to be judged by men rather than by their own sex. They will not gain anything, I believe, by assuming the right of

suffrage that they cannot gain without it, and they might meet with serious loss. In serving the principle of "the greatest good of the greatest number," man is constantly called on to disregard the feelings of particular persons, and even to outrage their dearest ties of home and family. Women cannot do this judicially. After the terrors of the law have done their work, woman steps in and binds up the wounds of the victims, and the world blesses both the avenger and the comforter.

In the practical working of woman suffrage, women would either vote in accordance with the views of their husbands and lovers or they would not. Should they do the former habitually, such suffrage becomes a farce, and the only result would be to increase the aggregate number of votes cast. Should women vote in opposition to the men to whom they are bound by ties sentimental or material, unpleasant consequences would sooner or later arise. No man would view with equanimity the spectacle of his wife or daughters nullifying his vote at the polls, or contributing their influence to sustain a policy of government which he should think injurious to his own well-being or that of the community. His purse would be more open to sustain the interests of his own political party, and if he lived in the country he would probably not furnish transportation to the polls for such members of his family as voted against him. He would not probably willingly entertain at his house persons who should be active in obtaining the votes of his wife and daughters against himself; and on the other hand the wife might refuse entertainment to the active agents of the party with which she might not be in sympathy. The unpleasantness in the social circle which comes into view with the advent of woman suffrage is formidable in the extreme, and nothing less than some necessity yet undreamed of should induce us to give entrance to such a disturber of the peace. We need no additional causes of marital infelicity. But we are told by the woman-suffrage advocate that such objections on the part of men are without good reason, and are prejudices which should be set aside. But they can-

not be set aside so long as human nature remains what it is. Men may grant women anything but the right to rule them, but there they draw the line. Is it not on questions of rule that the wars of men are mostly fought, and will men yield to the weak what they only yield to irresistible force? In the settlement of all questions by force, women are only in the way.

The effect of sexual discord is bad on both sexes, but has its greatest influence for evil through women. While it does not remove her frailties it suppresses her distinctively feminine virtues. This suppression, continued for a few generations, must end in their greater or less abolition. The lower instincts would remain, the flowers which blossom on that stem would wither. No matter what their intellectuality might be, such women would produce a race of moral barbarians, which would perish ultimately through intestine strife. The highest interests and pleasures of the male man are bound up in the effective preservation of the domestic affections of his partner. When these traits are weak, he should use every effort to develop them by giving them healthy exercise. As in all evolution, disuse ultimately ends in atrophy, and the atrophy of the affections in woman is a disaster in direct proportion to its extent. It may be replied again that woman suffrage carries with it no such probable result. But I believe that it does, unless the relations of the sexes are to be reversed. But it will be difficult to reduce the male man to the condition of the drone bee (although some men seem willing to fill that rôle); or of the male spider, who is first a husband and then a meal for his spouse. We have gone too far in the opposite direction for that. It will be easier to produce a reversion to barbarism in both sexes by the loss of their mutual mental hyperæsthesia.

If women would gain anything with the suffrage that they cannot gain without it, one argument would exist in its favor to the many against it; but the cause of women has made great progress without it, and will, I hope, continue to do so. Even in the matter of obtaining greater facilities for

divorce from drunken, or insane, or brutal husbands than now exist in many states of the Union, they can compel progress by agitation. A woman's society, with this reform as its object, would obtain definite results. The supposition that woman would improve the price of her labor by legislation is not more reasonable than it is in the case of men, who have to yield to the inexorable law of supply and demand.

When we consider the losses that women would sustain with the suffrage carried into effect *bona fide*, the reasons in its favor dwindle out of sight. The first effect would be to render marriage more undesirable to women than it is now. A premium would be at once set on unmarried life for women, and the hetæra would become a more important person to herself and to the state, than the wife, because more independent. The number of men and women who would adopt some system of marriage without obligation would greatly increase. Confidence and sympathy between married people would be in many instances impaired; in fact, the first and many other steps would be taken in the process of weakening home affection, and there would follow a corresponding loss of its civilizing influences and a turning backward of the current of moral progress. The intervention of women in public affairs is to be dreaded also by those who desire peace among men. Both women and their male friends resent treatment for them which men would quite disregard as applied to themselves; and woman suffrage would see the introduction of more or less women into public life.

The devotional nature of women must not be left out of the account in considering this question. While this element is of immense value to that sex and to society when expended upon ethical themes, when it is allied to theological issues it becomes an obstruction to progress of the most serious nature. Were woman suffrage granted, theological questions would at once assume a new political importance, and religious liberty and toleration would have to pass through new perils and endure the test of new strains. What

the effect would be we cannot foresee, but it could not be good. The priest would acquire a new political importance, and the availability of candidates would be greatly influenced by their church affiliations.

Many objections would be nullified if women should vote under the immediate direction of their responsible male associate, except the one based on their exemption from the execution of the laws; but, should they so vote, woman suffrage becomes a farce, as it is to that extent where it now prevails. The very essential support given by women voters to polygamy in Utah is an illustration of this. In Wyoming men load up wagons with their women to drive them to the polls to *vote their own ticket*, as I have had the opportunity of seeing in that territory; and so they would do everywhere. If they wished to vote otherwise, they might stay at home; and it is to be expected that women would sometimes wish to vote "otherwise."

What I have written does not include any reference to supposed inherent right to the suffrage or to any principles of representative government. This is because the view that suffrage is not a right but a privilege appears to the writer to be the most rational one, and because any system of government which tends to disturb the natural relations of the sexes I believe to be most injurious. In the absolute governments of Europe the home is safe whatever else may suffer; but a system which shall tend to the dissolution of the home is more dangerous than any form of absolutism which at the same time respects the social unit.

What America needs is not an extension, but a restriction of the suffrage.

Problem of Woman Suffrage. pp. 3-4.

Adeline Knapp.

The possibility of extending the suffrage to women must come into serious question. Our voting body is to-day so large, so unwieldy, as to form a serious menace to the institu-

tions of our country. Thoughtful men and women, regarding the situation, cannot but view with apprehension any addition to this well-nigh self-defeating body. Certainly the good possible to accrue to the Nation must be very clearly shown before this step is taken so unprecedented in the history of nations, of precipitating upon the country at large bodies of voters whose legal status is that of dependents.

This brings us to the question of whether the ballot is, *per se*, a human right. If it is, then it must be granted that there is no reason in logic why it should not be in the hands of women as well as of men. There is, however, no Nation that has not reserved to itself the right to declare who shall exercise its suffrages. The United States government has opened widest this door, but it is a growing question among statesmen, at home as well as abroad, whether it has done wisely in this respect. It must be remembered and can be remembered, too, with pure and patriotic loyalty, that this government is still in an experimental stage. We may believe it the republican idea, the American idea if you prefer so to style it, we may love our country, none the less that we are sorely troubled for her future; we may hope earnestly to see her ride triumphantly into safe harbor, but our faith, our love, our earnest hope cannot establish the success of this experiment if the logic of time shall prove to be against it. There is no argument from the Declaration of Independence to establish the natural right of women to the ballot. This government is not based upon the Declaration of Independence, but upon the Constitution, drawn and adopted by the men who establish the government, and this Constitution defines who shall be entitled to vote.

It is claimed for the ballot that it would give to women a sense of responsibility which they do not now possess. It is claimed by thoughtful friends, as well as by enemies of the Nation, that a serious defect in American character is the failure to accept and to discharge grave responsibilities in matters of government, as our blood-kin, the English, for instance, accept and discharge such. The sense of responsibility toward the government is not a characteristic of voting

American manhood. Why should we be asked to assume that voting will make it a characteristic of American womanhood? The private morality, the character building that must precede all public law-making and sense of responsibility has all along been in the hands of women. How have they accounted for it?

Do Working Women Need the Ballot?

Adeline Knapp.

The claim is made that working women in this state are handicapped as wage-earners, because they have not the franchise. If this claim can be substantiated it has a very direct bearing upon the whole question of enfranchising women; but those who make it are not very definite in explaining how this alleged handicap operates.

Certainly it does *not* operate to close the door of opportunity to women. The industrial field is to-day wide open to them, in this country, and American women have not been slow to enter it.

Several years ago I made a trip to the Orient. The last person I spoke to on American soil was a woman customs inspector, on the wharf at San Francisco. In Yokohama, going into a store to make a purchase, I was waited upon by an American woman, and needing a stenographer, in Manila, I secured the services of an American girl who was one of the Court stenographers there.

It would be difficult, indeed, to find any employment in this country into which women may not enter, with no other handicap than their own limitations. We see them working side by side with men, in the arts and in the sciences; practically all the trades are open to them; all the industries; even the suffrage advocates admit that every avenue of employment is free to them.

These avenues have opened, moreover, not as a result of the ballot, or of agitation for the franchise, but in the general course of the world's progress, in which women have had

their share, and quite independently of woman's political status.

But the claim is that this handicap operates against women as wage-earners. We are told that they must have the ballot to help them obtain the same pay as men, for equal services. We are not, however, told how the ballot will do this. Nor do the facts, under present circumstances, bear out the claim for it.

For a concrete instance: in the state of California, where, several years ago, a woman suffrage measure was defeated by popular vote, the salaries of women teachers in the public schools are the same as those of men holding similar positions; while in the state of Massachusetts, where women enjoy school suffrage, the women teachers are greatly underpaid, and in no case do they receive the same salaries as are paid to men for the same services.

The ballot is not one of the influences governing wages, either of men or of women. The conditions which regulate women's wages differ in different communities, in obedience to industrial conditions, and the law of supply and demand. In an agricultural state, like California, for instance, or a mining state, like Colorado, or in the great ranging states, like Wyoming and Montana, and others in the West, the men are largely in other than mercantile pursuits. The more usual industrial fields are left more open to women, who are not themselves sufficiently numerous to make competition excessive, and so their wages are higher.

In New York state, on the other hand, and throughout New England, where factories and commercial houses afford occupations to women, there are many applicants for every available position, women crowd the working ranks and wages are brought down. In these older and more crowded communities, too, the competition is greater, of women who need not be wholly self-supporting, and are therefore willing to work for less than a living wage. This is a potent factor in keeping women's wages down, and a factor which the ballot could not change.

Women who have passed the civil service examinations,

too, are about as well paid as men in the same positions. In New York City, for instance, the women sanitary inspectors are paid the same salaries as men. Civil service reform is likely to be a good deal better friend to working women than the ballot can ever be.

Men had the ballot for years, during which they strove, ineffectively, to keep wages up. In many cases the workingman's vote was but one more factor in the unscrupulous employer's power over the employe, and the enforced vote of labor kept oppression in power. Organization and co-operation are the means by which working men have been able to raise the scale of wages, and to keep it up; and these are means which women have not yet learned to use.

And how helpless the working man really is when he essays to become a political factor, has been demonstrated to us by the recent terrible object lesson in San Francisco, where a solidly united labor vote, of unquestionably honest working men, put into power men from among the working men's own leaders, who betrayed their constituency, robbed them, and well-nigh wrecked their city's government.

With the best of will to see things bettered, the working men were powerless to control the agents their own votes had elected. They were helpless to bring about a change until there arose in that city an independent leader; a man with no political ambitions, no political affiliations or obligations, whose boast it was that although a native-born American, he had never voted in his life.

We are told that when women can vote we shall have fairer and juster laws for woman's government; but the laws of this state, relating not merely to working women, but to all women, are exceedingly fair, and give women a distinct advantage over men in many ways.

By these laws women are afforded equal protection with men, in their property, and in their lives and liberties. In cases where the law does discriminate, it is in the women's favor. A married woman, for instance, has far freer control over her own property, however acquired, than a married man has over his. Her earnings, if she is a wage-

worker, are absolutely and solely her own, and she is under no obligation to provide for her husband as he is to provide for her, even to the extent of paying her alimony if she gets a divorce and re-marries.

A woman in business is exempt from arrest in an action for debt fraudulently contracted, though a man is not. A woman against whom a judgment for debt is obtained enjoys certain exemptions from execution that a man does not enjoy except when he has a family to provide for. There are, moreover, many special statutes designed to benefit and protect women employed in New York, as, for instance, the one which provides that a man may be imprisoned without privilege of bail, and that none of his property is exempt from execution, if he fails to pay the wages of a female employe up to fifty dollars.

We have seen, then, that in this state every field of employment is open to women; we have seen that the scale of women's wages is determined by considerations entirely apart from their political status, and that state legislation has been more than liberal in making laws for the protection and advantage of working women. Women are exempt, moreover, from all of the many personal taxes which are put upon male citizenship, such as the requirement to serve on jury, to help put out fires, to make arrests, to help quell riots, and to bear arms when the country's need requires it.

Inexpediency of Granting the Suffrage to American Women.
pp. 3-9.

Alice H. Chittenden.

History furnishes many instances where people suffering under some injustice of a tyrannous government have banded together and demanded the suffrage to right their wrongs. But it has remained for the enlightened 20th century to witness the birth and development, not only in this country but also in England, of a well organized movement among an unenfranchised class against having the suffrage forced

upon them. This fact is so significant, that thoughtful men and women are beginning to realize that this opposition to woman suffrage must be based upon some fundamental principles, and not upon the mere whim, as is sometimes said, of women who do not wish to vote. I have no hesitation in saying that those of us who are actively engaged in opposing the extension of suffrage to our sex have entirely eliminated all personal or individual feeling in the consideration of this question. It is the welfare of the state and race which we have at heart, and a careful study of this subject, not merely from its biological or scientific side, but also from the point of view of governmental expediency, has convinced us, that the suffrage would but add another responsibility to those woman already carries, without giving her any compensating advantage; that the whole social structure of the state would be weakened by attempting to equalize and identify the practical activities of the sexes, and the basic principles of our government shattered by making possible a majority which could not enforce its own rule.

We claim that it would be inexpedient—contrary to all the interests of good government merely to double the electorate in this country by giving the ballot to all women, unless such an increase would insure a higher standard of intelligence in the majority of votes cast. In considering this point we cannot afford to ignore the fact that all women are not cultured, educated, intelligent and upright, but that unfortunately there are those among our sex who are ignorant, vicious and depraved. An advocate of woman suffrage has recently said, "No person, however unreasonable, maintains that all women *are* honorable, and no reasonable person fails to realize that political power will uncover a certain amount of moral weakness in women now passing as honorable. But the vote is not withheld from men on the plea that politics give dishonorable men a chance to profit by their crookedness; no reasonable person then can agree that it should be withheld from women for that cause." This is scarcely a plea for good government. Two wrongs do not make a right. If we have made the mistake of giving dis-

honorable men the chance to profit by buying and selling the votes of their fellow men, why make it possible for them to buy and sell the votes of women as well, or why open up this same temptation to women? The indifferent male voter as well as the dishonest one in our electorate has made the problem of good government in this country more difficult, and no one can deny that there will be a still larger number of indifferent voters among the women. The fact that the vast majority of women throughout the country to-day are totally indifferent to this whole question of woman suffrage, either pro or con, is but one proof of the truth of this assertion. Will our political problems be lessened or only enhanced by admitting to the body politic a vast army of women voters who know even less about the theories and principles of our government than does the average male voter?

Every woman who has the welfare of humanity at heart welcomed the famous decision of the Supreme Court at Washington two years ago which declared constitutional a law limiting the hours of woman's work in factories on the ground that as the mother of the race she had a right to such protection which the man working by her side did not possess. Within the past two months the Supreme Court of Illinois has handed down a similar opinion based on practically the same grounds, upholding as constitutional a law in that state limiting the work of women in factories, mechanical establishments or laundries to ten hours. Such decisions are bound to be far reaching in effect, and will serve to crystallize public opinion to the necessity of shorter hours and better protection for the woman worker if we are to have a strong and vigorous race.

A brief review of some of the laws of the several states shows how much has been done in this direction, but the assertion that the laws for the protection of working women are better in the states where women vote than they are in the states where they do not vote, is not borne out by the facts of the case. In 38 states there are special laws of some kind for the comfort or safety of working women. There is no law of this kind on the statute books of Idaho. In 20

states the hours of woman's labor is definitely limited. In the four states where women vote, however, there is no limit to the length of a woman's working day. It would seem from this that members of our sex are in reality not as well off under a constitution which regards them merely as an individual factor in the economic system, as they are in the states where they are looked upon as being what the Creator intended them to be—Women. Thirty-four states require seats to be provided for the use of female employes in mercantile or manufacturing establishments when they are not engaged in actual duties. In New York State seats must be provided in mercantile, manufacturing and mechanical establishments as well as in hotels and restaurants. In Colorado and Wyoming seats are not required in hotels and restaurants. In Utah not in manufacturing concerns, and Idaho has no regulations of this kind. In 14 states a mother is joint guardian of the children with the father. Colorado is the only suffrage state where this law is in force. The 4 states in which the best child labor laws prevail, are, New York, Ohio, Illinois and Colorado. In no respect, however, do the laws of Colorado regulating the labor of children excel those in New York.

Equal pay for men and women teachers does not hold good in Colorado, for we are told that the difference in the salaries of men and women teachers in that state, instead of being unusually small, is unusually large.

A brief review of some of the laws affecting a woman's property rights will suffice to show that in this respect also woman is as well off in the non-suffrage states as she is in those where she does her own voting. Women's rights of inheritance in their husbands' estate, for instance, are either equal or greater than those of the husband in forty states. In Idaho, not only are the property rights in favor of the husband, but a woman's property may be seized to pay a husband's debts. In that state also and five other states the husband has control of the community property, whereas in 27 states all of a married woman's property is free. In 38 states the earnings of married women are secured to them.

No one will deny that under the old Common Law woman suffered from many legal disabilities, but during the past fifty years these have not only been removed, but men have granted her legal rights and privileges which in many instances far exceed his own. Are the women who are demanding the suffrage ready to fore swear these privileges and immunities the day the ballot is placed in their hands? If so, will they not be striking rather a poor bargain by giving up more than they will get? Yet this seems to be a very fair proposition. Why should they retain all their rights and privileges if what they wish is to be man's equal?

This question suggests another point. Will man continue to feel the same responsibility for woman's welfare if women have the ballot and can legislate for themselves? I fear not, and I believe that any change in our social order which tends to lessen man's responsibility toward woman is greatly to be regretted, for as woman's natural protector some of the noblest traits in a man's character are developed.

We grant there may still be minor instances in some states where the law discriminates against women, but there is sufficient evidence that "the subjection of woman" is a worn-out phrase, since she is not suffering from any gross injustice by reason of our so-called man-made laws. To force her into the political arena to fight her own battles when man has legislated so greatly in her favor, would seem like flying in the face of Providence.

Many earnest and sincere women declare they want to vote because they wish to take a hand in what they call municipal house-cleaning. More schools are needed, more parks and playgrounds; better tenements and cleaner streets. Give us the ballot, they argue, and all these things shall come to pass. Now these enthusiastic would-be house-cleaners fail to take one point into consideration, and a very important point it is. Under our form of government clean streets and model tenements are not voted for at the polls. In other words, men do not vote for measures, but for men whom they hope will carry out policies in which the voter believes. But a candidate for political office may be elected

in one section of the city to carry out certain measures, while in other quarters of the city other candidates are elected on other platforms, so when the different elements meet together on the Council Board or in the Legislature a compromise has to be effected or the political machinery is set in motion and the measure backed by the majority wins. Now the same situation would arise if women voted. All the women would not agree on any question of reform any more than men do, or if they all should happen to pull together for a measure, they might find the men arrayed on the other side, then we should have the disagreeable situation of a battle between the sexes, and a most unequal battle it would be. If the men were in the majority the women would lose their case, and if, on the other hand, the women were in the majority, they would still lose, for being non-combatants they could not force compliance to their wishes upon the minority. This point has been made clear by a New York lawyer who said, "The majority prevails because it is the majority, and could, if necessary, compel compliance with its wishes. To make possible a majority which a minority could safely defy, would be to overthrow the fundamental ideas of Republican government."

Under the present conditions of government woman as a non-partisan citizen is a power in any community, for untrammelled by party affiliations or obligations, she can go before any legislative committee or board of officials and urge the passage of any law or measure, and her recommendations will be considered on their merits, and not because she voted with this or that party at the last election. There are probably many in this audience this evening who could speak with authority on this subject and cite instances where they have been sponsors for some remedial measure which is now on the statute books of some city or state. The Equal guardianship law in New York is a case in point. That bill was introduced in the Legislature through the influence of the Woman's educational and industrial union in Buffalo. In speaking of this law the President of that Association said, "It passed both Houses without a dissenting

vote. Circulars giving full information as to the desirability of the law and what we desired to accomplish were sent to every legislator, but there was no lobbying, and it was not even necessary for me to go to Albany." Is it expedient to take such power from woman and make her but a spoke in the wheel of political machinery?

Facts and Fallacies about Woman Suffrage.

It is a mistake to suppose that the great majority of women want to vote. They do not. In proof of which we state the following facts, which can easily be verified. We mention first the Massachusetts referendum of 1895, in which the women of that state, which was one of the earliest and strongest advocates of suffrage for women, were invited to put themselves on record, by the same means that men do, and under the same conditions, as to whether or not they desired the ballot. Less than four per cent of all the women of the state, of voting age, expressed such a desire, and that in spite of the earnest efforts of the suffragist agitators to call out a large affirmative vote. The proposition was ingloriously defeated all over the state, from Cape Cod to the Berkshire Hills, no measure having ever met with so overwhelming an overthrow in the state. Very naturally a proposition for a similar referendum in New York state in 1910 was strongly opposed by the suffragists.

School suffrage, now granted in about half our states, has been a lamentable failure, the woman vote averaging scarcely 2 per cent in any state. In the state of Ohio the number of women responding to the privilege has been so small, and the expense of registering and counting it has been so relatively large, that it has been seriously proposed to withdraw it altogether.

In Chicago, in the election of November 8, 1910, where women are allowed to vote for university trustees, in spite of the earnest efforts of the suffragists to bring out the full woman vote of the city, its population being counted by millions, 490 females registered, and of these but 243 voted.

Several years ago it was proposed to send a monster petition, signed by a million women, to the Congress of the United States. The changes upon this petition were continually rung in our ears, and the petition itself was circulated throughout the country, and women's names were sought, begged, entreated and cajoled in every possible way. During the last session of Congress (1910) the petition was carried to Washington, with great noise of trumpets and tooting of automobiles, but when the signatures were examined they were found to number less than half a million; to be exact, women 163,438, men 122,382, and 119,005 described by the presenters as "unclassified." We do not know exactly what this term implies, but it has been suggested that they may be babes and children, whose names were enrolled on the supposition that when they were grown up they would no doubt be suffragists. The population of the United States according to the census of 1910, is considerably more than 90,000,000. We decline to figure out the insignificant percentage of the number which the names signed to this petition, represent.

Why Women Vote in Colorado

But it is said that women vote in Colorado and the other states where the full vote is allowed, as freely as the men. To this we reply, that the rivalry of parties forces out many unwilling voters, on both sides, including women who vote at the solicitation of men anxious for the passage of certain measures, as well as the illiterate and immoral who are the prey of bosses and ringsters. We have testimony to this fact from both suffrage and anti-suffrage sources. We cite first a long and impartial article in the Ladies' Home Journal of November 1st, 1910, a paper having a circulation of more than a million copies. It sent Mr. Richard Barry, a well known writer on sociological topics to Colorado with instructions to prepare a full and accurate account of the results of woman suffrage in the suffrage states, and his statements we know to be confirmed by the testimony of many estimable women in Colorado, who state that they are not nearly as free in working for philanthropic measures as in

the old days when their influence was unhampered by partisan responsibilities.

Mr. Barry's testimony on this as well as upon many other points is very strong, but too long to be transcribed entire. For our present purpose we prefer to quote from a book prepared by Dr. Helen L. Sumner, a woman suffragist, who spent two years in Colorado at the request of an Equal suffrage association in New York, to prepare a true and unbiased account of the effect of suffrage upon the individual and society. Her statement of facts coincides so generally with that of Mr. Barry, that if her individual theories and conclusions were cut out of it, the book might almost as well be used as anti-suffrage as suffrage campaign literature.

Dr. Sumner says (page 258), speaking of the woman vote, "Its effect upon party politics has been slight." "In 1906 a woman sat through the sessions of one of the long tedious conventions in Denver with a nine-weeks-old baby in her arms. Neither she nor her husband believed in woman suffrage but her husband held a political position." She also quotes, with apparent approval, "Woman's sense of honor has been blunted," "Women have been made bolder and more self assertive." A county chairman over his own signature testified "In the last campaign women who sold their influence agreed to work for both parties for cash—the highest price paid \$25, lowest \$5. I myself bought one woman for \$10 when the Democrats bought her for \$15, and we have her endorsement on both checks." There are many pages in Dr. Sumner's book which strikingly confirm Mr. Barry's statements.

Uplift in Morals Consequent Upon Woman Suffrage

As regards the boasted improvement in morals consequent upon the woman's vote, in a table of statistics, gathered from public sources in Colorado, where women have voted since 1896, Mr. Barry shows conclusively that there has been a steady decline in the morals of the states of Idaho, Utah, Wyoming and Colorado in regard to marriage and divorce since they were admitted to suffrage. Illiteracy is

much greater and the care of children much less, as indicated by the alarming increase in juvenile crime in a state where the Juvenile Court only recently established, takes rank over the mother and home. All these are matters in which women might be supposed to be specially interested, but these states fall far behind in morals, the most advanced of the non-suffrage states. Every page of this article, which is in fact a report fortified by undeniable statistics, is so full of evidence of the demoralizing effect of woman suffrage, that it needs to be read to be appreciated.

Woman does not need the ballot to make her equal with man. If she faithfully performs the duties which nature lays upon her, and upon her alone, she is not only his equal, but more than his equal. It is as the mother of men that she reigns supreme. To lower this attitude by claiming for her a material equality is to reduce her from a powerful and beneficent necessity, to a weak and lamentable copy of the original type from which she was so wisely and beneficently segregated.

As a proof that without the ballot women are to a good degree and increasingly, fulfilling this intention, we instance the progress which has been made during the last decade in the pursuits of the domestic arts and sciences, in the care and proper upbringing of children, in the regulation of the hygienic and moral conditions in our schools, and in bringing to light and commenting upon the evil and vicious social theories, which have so long hidden themselves from the public view, and many other needed and valuable reforms. In all these lines of progress women have been either the originators of public beneficence, or its faithful and untiring helpers.

The public part of this work has not been, could not have been done by the universal suffrage of all women, young and old, wise and foolish, indifferent and thoughtful, as it has been done by voluntary or appointed officials, chosen from the ranks of tried and experienced women, upon whose judgment and unselfishness the public has learned to rely, and the reason that as a rule they stand higher in the world's

estimation than the average man, is that they do not represent the universal element of politics, but are, in themselves a selected and specialized class, peculiarly fitted in the eyes of the public, for the duties to which they are appointed.

Why the Home Makers Do Not Want to Vote

The independent position of American women in the home and society is the wonder of Europe. Scarcely an intelligent foreigner, man or woman, who comes to us, but expresses this astonishment. The burdens which nature puts upon women everywhere, they bear in common with their sex, but under circumstances of such freedom, homage and chivalrous respect as obtain nowhere else in the world. Their rights, privileges and immunities as faithful wives and mothers, although they may not attain to the perfect ideal, are nevertheless beyond what any other body of women enjoy.

The history of American legislation proves that for fifty years or more men have been busy, often quite of their own unsolicited good-will, in improving the legal status of women in matters of property rights, inheritance rights and the custody of their children. And these prerogatives extend far beyond woman's immediate social and domestic sphere. It is the testimony of many excellent women workers in philanthropic enterprises, both public and private, that when legal aid is necessary in carrying out their plans for the well being of the poor and unfortunate, if they go to the legislatures as women, not as politicians working in connection with any political party, they have no difficulty in gaining their ends; while as members of opposing parties their bills would be held up session after session. Thoughtful women who are engaged in the highest enterprises of womanhood, home making and soul building, the work of social amelioration, and the care of the poor and unfortunate, cannot see how they would be the gainers by possessing the ballot.

Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question.

Emily P. Bissell.

There are three points of view from which woman to-day ought to consider herself—as an individual, as a member of a family, as a member of the state. Every woman stands in those three relations to American life. Every woman's duties and rights cluster along those three lines; and any change in woman's status that involves all of them needs to be very carefully considered by every thoughtful woman.

The proposal that women should vote affects each one of these three relations deeply. It is then a proposal that the American woman has been considering for sixty years, without accepting it. Other questions, which have been only individual, as the higher education for such individual women as desire it, or the opening of various trades and professions to such individual women as desire, to enter them have not required any such thought or hesitation. They are individual, and individuals have decided on them and accepted them. But this great suffrage question, involving not only the individual, but the family and the state, has hung fire. There are grave objections to woman suffrage on all these three counts. Sixty years of argument and of effort on the part of the suffragists have not in the least changed these arguments, because they rest on the great fundamental facts of human nature and of human government. The suffrage is "a reform against nature" and such reforms are worse than valueless.

Let us take these three points of view singly. Why, in the first place, is the vote a mistake for women as individuals? I will begin discussing that by another question. "How many of you have leisure to spare now, without the vote?" The claims upon a woman's time, in this twentieth century, are greater than ever before. Woman, in her progress, has taken up many important things to deal with, and has already overloaded herself beyond her strength. If she is a working-woman, her day is full—fuller than that of a workingman, since she has to attend, in many cases, to home

duties or to sewing and mending for herself when her day's toil is over. If she is a wife and mother, she has her hands full with the house and the children. If she is a woman of affairs and charities, she has to keep a secretary or call in a stenographer to get through her letters and accounts. Most of the self-supporting women of my acquaintance do not want the ballot. They have no time to think about it. Most of the wives and mothers I know do not want to vote. They are too busy with other burdens. Most of the women of affairs I know do not want to vote. They are doing public work without it better than they could with it, and consider it a burden, not a benefit. The ballot is a duty, a responsibility; and most intelligent, active women to-day believe that it is man's duty and responsibility, and that they are not called to take it up in addition to their own share. The suffragists want the ballot individually. They have a perfect right to want it. They ask no leisure. And if it were only an individual question, then I should say heartily "Let them have it, as individuals, and let us refuse to take it, as individuals, and then the whole matter can be individually settled." But that is impossible, for there are two other aspects. The suffragists cannot get the vote without forcing it on all the rest of womankind in America; for America means unrestricted manhood suffrage, and an equal suffrage law would mean unrestricted womanhood suffrage, from the college girl to the immigrant woman who cannot read and the negro woman in the cotton-field, and from the leader of society down to the drunken woman in the police court. The individual aspect is only one of the three, and after all, the least important.

For no good woman lives to herself. She has always been part of a family as wife or sister or daughter from the time of Eve. . . . The American home is the foundation of American strength and progress. And in the American home woman has her own place and her own duty to the family.

It is an axiom in physics that two things cannot be in the same place at the same time. Woman, as an individual,

apart from all home ties, can easily enough get into a man's place. There are thousands of women in New York to-day—business women, professional women, working girls, who are almost like men in their daily activity. But nearly all these women marry and leave the man's place for the woman's, after a few years of business life. It is this fact which makes their wages lower than men's, and keeps them from being a highly skilled class. They go back into the home, and take up a woman's duties in the family. If they are wise women, they give up their work; they do not try to be in a man's place and a woman's too. But when they do make this foolish resolve to keep on working the home suffers. There are no children; or the children go untrained; housekeeping is given up for boarding; there is no family atmosphere. The woman's place is vacant—and in a family, that is the most important place of all. The woman, who might be a woman, is half a man instead.

The family demands from a woman her very best. Her highest interests, and her unceasing care, must be in home life, if her home is to be what it ought to be. Here is where the vote for woman comes in as a disturbing factor. The vote is part of man's work. Ballot-box, cartridge box, jury box, sentry box, all go together in his part of life. Woman cannot step in and take the responsibilities and duties of voting without assuming his place very largely. The vote is a symbol of government, and leads at once into the atmosphere of politics; to make herself an intelligent voter (and no other kind is wanted) a woman must study up the subjects on which she is to vote and cast her ballot with a personal knowledge of current politics in every detail. She must take it all from her husband, which means that he is thus given two votes instead of one, not equal suffrage, but a double suffrage for the man.

Home is meant to be a restful place, not agitated by the turmoil of outside struggles. It is man's place to support and defend the family, and so to administer the state that the family shall flourish in peace. He is the outside worker. Woman is the one whose place it is to bear and rear the

children who shall later be the citizens of the state. As I have shown, she can, if she wishes, go into man's place in the world for awhile. But man can never go into hers. (That proves she is superior, by the way.) He cannot create the home. He is too distracted by outside interests, too tired with his own duties, to create an atmosphere of home. The woman who makes the mistake of trying to do his work and hers too, cannot create a home atmosphere, either. She cannot be in two places at once. I have known even one outside charity become so absorbing in its demands on a woman's time and thought that her children felt the difference, and knew and dreaded the day of the monthly meeting, and the incessant call of the telephone. There are certain times in a wife and mother's life, such as children's illnesses, the need of care for an over-worked husband, the crisis of some temptation or wrong tendency in a child's life, and so on, when all outside interests must abdicate before the family ones, and be shut out for awhile. The vote, which means public life, does not fit into the ideal of family life. The woman who is busy training a family is doing her public service right in the home. She cannot be expected to be in two places at the same time, doing the work of the state as the man does.

The individualism of woman, in these modern days, is a threat to the family. There is one divorce in America nowadays to every dozen marriages. There are thousands of young women who crowd into factory or mill or office in preference to home duties. There is an impatience of ties and responsibilities, a restlessness, a fever for "living one's own life," that is unpleasantly noticeable. The desire for the vote is part of this restlessness, this grasping for power that shall have no responsibility except to drop a paper into a ballot box, this ignorant desire to do "the work of the world" instead of one's own appointed work. If women had conquered their own part of life perfectly, one might wish to see them thus leave it and go forth to set the world to rights. But on the contrary, never were domestic conditions so badly attended to. Until woman settles the servant question, how can she ask to run the government?

This brings us to the third point, which is, the effect on the state of a vote for women. Let us keep in mind, always, that in America we cannot argue about municipal suffrage, or taxpaying suffrage, or limited suffrage of any kind—"to one end they must all come" that of unrestricted woman suffrage, white and colored, illiterate and collegebred alike having the ballot. America recognizes no other way. Do not get the mistaken idea—which the suffragists cleverly present all the while that the English system of municipal or restricted suffrage, or the Danish system, or any other system, is like ours. It is *not*. Other countries have restricted forms of suffrage by which individual women can be sorted out, so to speak. But America has equal manhood suffrage ingrained in her very state, in her very law. Once begin to give the suffrage to women, and there is but one end in this country. The question is always with us, "What effect will unrestricted female suffrage have on the state?" We must answer that question or beg the subject.

One thing sure—the women's vote would be an indifferent one. The majority of women do not want to vote—even the suffragists acknowledge that. Therefore, if given the vote, they would not be eager voters. There would be a number of highly enthusiastic suffrage voters—for a whole. But when the coveted privilege became a commonplace, or even an irksome duty, the stay-at-home vote would grow larger and larger. The greatest trouble in politics to-day is the indifferent vote among men. Equal suffrage would add a larger indifferent vote among women.

Then there is the corrupt vote to-day. Among men it is bad enough. But among women it would be much worse. What, for example, would the Tenderloin woman's vote be in New York? for good measures and better city politics? In Denver, it has been found to work just as might be supposed, and in Denver the female ward politician appeared full-fledged in the Shafroth case, in the full swing of bribery and fraud. Unrestricted suffrage must reckon with all kinds of women, you see—and the unscrupulous woman will use her vote for what it is worth and for corrupt ends.

Today, without the vote, the women who are intelligent and interested in public affairs use their ability and influence for good measures. And the indifferent woman does not matter. The unscrupulous woman has no vote. We get the best, and bar out the rest. The state gets all the benefit of its best women, and none of the danger from its worst women. The situation is too beneficial to need any change in the name of progress. We have now two against one, a fine majority, the good men and the good women against the unscrupulous men. Equal suffrage would make it two to two—the good men and the good women against the unscrupulous men and the unscrupulous women—a tie vote between good and evil instead of a safe majority for good.

Then, beside the indifferent vote and the corrupt vote, there would be, in equal suffrage, a well-meaning, unorganized vote. But government is not run in America by unorganized votes—it is run by organized parties. To get results, one vote is absurd. An effectual vote means organization; and organization means primaries and conventions, and caucuses and office-holding, and work, and work, and more work. A ballot dropped in a box is not government, or power. This is what men are fighting out in politics, and we women ought to understand their problem. One reason that I, personally—do not want the ballot is that I have been brought up in the middle of politics in a state that is full of them, and I know the labor they entail on public-spirited men. Politics, to me, does not mean unearned power, or the registering of one's opinion on public affairs—it means hard work, incessant organization and combination, continual perseverance against disappointment and betrayal, steadfast effort for small and hard-fought advance. I have seen too many friends and relatives in that battle to want to push any woman into it. And unless one goes into the battle the ballot is of no force. The suffragists do not expect to. They expect and urge—that all that will be necessary will be for each woman to "register her opinion" and cast her ballot and go home.

Where would the state be then—with an indifferent vote,

a corrupt vote, and a helpless, unorganized vote, loaded on to its present political difficulties? Where would the state be with a doubled negro vote in the Black Belt? Where would New York and Chicago be with a doubled immigrant vote? I have two friends, sisters, one of them living in Utah, the other in Colorado—both suffrage states. The one in Colorado belongs to the indifferent vote. She is too busy to vote, and doesn't believe in it anyhow. The one in Utah goes to the polls regularly, not because she wants to vote, but because as she says "The Mormons vote all their women solidly, and we Gentiles have to vote as a duty—and how we wish we were back again under manhood suffrage." Is the state benefited by an unwilling electorate such as that?

Outlook. 97: 143-4. January 28, 1911.

Women Voters' Views on Woman's Suffrage.

No one expects woman's suffrage to be refused in any country where popular self-government prevails whenever the majority of women themselves make it clear that they desire to vote. Heretofore the greatest obstacle to woman's suffrage has been the indifference of women themselves. To those who advocate the bestowal of the ballot upon women whether they wish it or not this indifference has been particularly irritating, because they feel that such indifference cannot be overcome until women themselves experience the exhilaration of voting. A news item in the London "Times," however, indicates that even the experience of dropping ballots into a box does not necessarily convert women to the view that it is their duty to bear the burden of the suffrage. According to this item, the Women's national anti-suffrage league has made a canvass of women who have the franchise in municipal elections. It has inquired of them whether they were in favor of extending their duties to include political franchise. For this purpose, districts were selected representing a variety of population—typical of London, of large provincial cities, of country towns, and of agricultural vil-

lages. Of the total number, 2,520 expressed themselves as being in favor of "votes for women," and 9,845 opposed. The account in the London "Times" does not state the total number of those who were neutral or who failed to answer the inquiries; in North Berks, it reports, however, that out of a municipal electorate of 1,291 women, 1,085 were opposed to the extension of the franchise. In Bristol, out of an electorate of over 7,000, less than 900 were in favor of the suffrage. Almost 2,000, on the other hand, were neutral, over 1,000 did not even reply, and over 3,000 expressed their opposition.

Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation. pp. 5-7.

Mr. Owen Lovejoy, Secretary of the National child labor committee, in his report of the proceedings at Birmingham, Alabama in March, 1911 says:

"The States which do not require proof of the child's age or at least any proof worthy the name are Colorado, Florida, Louisiana, Nevada, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Wyoming, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Wisconsin, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee.

"Our agents have frequently found eight, nine and ten year old boys applying for work in these states upon affidavits certifying them to be fourteen or sixteen years of age.

"When we lay upon the greedy parent the temptation to deceive in order to secure employment for a child we are guilty of placing the burden upon the weak, where it does not belong and promoting perjury by process of law."

It will be noticed that the four equal suffrage states are all in Mr. Lovejoy's list. The truth is that the suffrage states, far from being in the van of remedial legislation for children, have been laggards in the work. Not one of them has been a pioneer in the movement, but they have always followed the lead of other states in child labor laws and usually long after these laws have been incorporated in the statutes of adjoining states.

The Juvenile court law of Colorado is deservedly famous

but it was not the first court of its kind established in the United States. The law establishing a juvenile court in Illinois was passed some time before the Colorado law and its features were practically the same. It was the Juvenile court law of Illinois that formed the basis for the Colorado law, and Chicago had a juvenile court some years before the Denver court was established.

The National child labor committee has prepared a model child labor law for uniform legislation. It has followed the principle of embodying in the text the best provisions contained in the laws of the various states. The bill contains 49 sections and the following table shows the number of these model provisions already enacted in the suffrage states, and those of similar locality and conditions. Of 49 provisions of this model law we find the law of—

Wyoming contains none
Idaho contains none
Colorado contains 7
Utah contains 8
California contains 12
Oregon contains 14
Oklahoma contains 15
North Dakota contains 15
Minnesota contains 20
Nebraska contains 25
Wisconsin contains 27

These facts are not given with any intention of disparaging the work of the four equal suffrage states, but merely to disprove the claim of the suffragists that if women were given the ballot they would bring about better laws, for the protection of children than exist under male suffrage. Neither can they claim that the inadequacies of the law are due solely to the conditions of life and labor in a western and chiefly agricultural community, for we find Montana, Nebraska, Oregon and Oklahoma with better provisions and more inclusive laws.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of the National consumers' league says:—

"It is perhaps not surprising that the state with the most sweeping provision that no child below the age of sixteen years shall be employed in any gainful occupation is Montana which has no occasion for employing children except as telegraph or messenger boys and is subject, therefore to less temptation than the rest of us": and she adds, "next best perhaps after Montana comes a great industrial state."

"In Ohio after six o'clock at night no girl under eighteen years old and no boy under sixteen can be employed in gainful occupation. If we take down the receiver of a telephone in Cleveland or Cincinnati at night, it is not a young girl's voice that answers any more than it would be in New Orleans. Louisiana and Ohio share, I believe, alone the honor due to their humane provision that all night work, to which elsewhere we are so cruelly accustomed shall be done not by young girls, not by any young person—a boy under 16 or a girl under 18 years old—but by older people, who do not suffer so cruelly from loss of sleep." Would women with the ballot have accomplished more for child labor in these states than they have accomplished without it? The experience of equal suffrage states disproves it.

Address before the Brooklyn Auxiliary, April 30, 1909.

Mrs. A. J. George.

Women have a restricted suffrage in India, in Cape Colony, in Italy, in Austro-Hungary, even in Russia, but in each of these instances it is the woman who holds property who votes because of that property and not the woman who votes because of her need of representation as a woman.

In 1906 the Czar granted adult suffrage for the men and women of Finland over 24 years of age, and in the present Diet of that Province, 26 women are seated out of a total membership of 200; but this Diet is not a representative assembly with the power of taking initiative in legislation, or enforcing legislation. Twice a week for about three months in the year, the members meet to consider laws proposed by

the Emperor. The Emperor has veto power on all its acts, and can dissolve the Diet at his will.

Votes for women is apparently not what the French women ask for. In October, 1908, for the first time, women as well as men employed in trade and business had by a new law a vote for the election of "Conseils de Prudhommes" the judge of special commercial courts. The returns show that only 24 per 1,000 women availed themselves of this new privilege. Moreover, this small minority consists entirely of female clerks employed in one or two large banks, whose names in every case had been put down by their employers themselves. Not one single woman engaged in trade had taken the trouble even to enter her name in the registers. The matter is an important one, as all trade disputes are decided by that tribunal. Yet up to date exactly eight women in France have put their names down on the registers out of the thousands who are principals or partners in business of their own in France, where there are probably more trade and industrial undertakings in feminine hands than in any other country. Perhaps that is why they present a sublime indifference to the suffrage.

But what of Norway, Sweden and Denmark,—countries more closely allied in institutions to our government? A recent suffrage writer names Norway as a country where women have *full* suffrage. What are the facts? In June, 1907, the Storthings rejected a bill providing for universal suffrage, but adopted a bill granting women the parliamentary franchise on the same conditions as are prescribed in the case of municipal electors. That is, all women over 25 years of age who pay taxes on an income (they have an income tax in Norway) enjoyed by themselves or husbands, have the vote. Here again we have a property qualification and it is worthy of notice that the population of Norway is one of common origin, a homogeneous people, whose problem is one of emigration rather than of immigration, and that the entire country has a population about one-half that of New York City. A year after this limited parliamentary franchise was granted to women in Norway, a bill was

passed providing that wives travelling with their husbands shall be charged only one-half fare. Will our suffrage friends make this as the next move, if once they obtain the ballot here in the United States?

In April, 1908, Denmark gave a communal vote to women, with qualifications similar to those in Norway; that is, "females over 25 years of age, who are tax-payers or the wives of tax-payers, are entitled to vote." On March 12th last, for the first time, women of Denmark exercised this franchise. A writer in the *New York Sun* says that "half the city voters in the new franchise are women and they seemed to dominate the election. There were crowds of women around the polling booths before they opened. Shelters were specially provided for children-laden perambulators while the mothers voted. They were largely patronized."

Queen Louise of Denmark, in addressing the women employees of a great millinery establishment, urged these women to use their right to vote, and said: "When women have secured the suffrage, they should use it." A claim anti-suffragists have always urged when they were told that only those need use the ballot who wished so to do. Denmark, like Norway, has a homogeneous people, and a government so free from corruption as to amaze visiting Americans. The population of the entire kingdom is less than the population of the city of Paris. Norway and Denmark together scarcely equal the population of New York City and Boston. These comparisons will point the way to a very careful consideration of how far the success of woman suffrage in communities so unlike our own can be taken as a proof that this "revolutionary change" as Mr. Gladstone called full suffrage for women, is desirable in our country.

Many interesting speakers have come to us from England recently; some of them have admitted that woman's condition here without the ballot is so superior to the condition of women in England that were they citizens of this country, they would hesitate to ask for the ballot lest they by so doing exchange substance for shadow. Many of these speakers,

however, urge American women to work for the suffrage because in England women are admitted to all save the Parliamentary franchise; because in Australia women have been recently given the Federal franchise, and in the colonies of the Australian commonwealth for many years had some form of suffrage, albeit usually with a rate-paying qualification. There is little reason why the United States should follow the doubtful action of a remote English colony. There are perhaps a million enfranchised women in the Australian federation; (this includes the women of Victoria, who were empowered in November, 1908, to vote at state elections) this number is not equal to the foreign-born population of the city of New York, while Australia has an area equal to that of the entire United States, leaving out Alaska. Goldwin Smith has called Australia "the paradise of experiment." This experiment of municipal suffrage for women calls forth no higher praise from one of its staunchest advocates than this: "Neither the fears of its opponents nor the hopes of its friends have been realized; there has been no conspicuous advance traceable to this cause in dealing with such matters as gambling, impurity, intemperance, or Sabbath desecration."

New Zealand has had woman suffrage now in municipal and general elections for 16 years, and we are told to look at New Zealand if we would see how woman suffrage works, as if Macaulay's New Zealander were already sitting on the ruined arch of London Bridge. Mr. Reeves in 1900 said that woman suffrage had been a negative success in New Zealand, not altering the results of elections; and he also said that he could not imagine woman suffrage operating for good here where we have so large a proportion of illiteracy. In Massachusetts there are 50,000 illiterate men out of 550,000 voters, not quite 9 per cent. The proportion of illiterate women would be as great. But in New Zealand less than 1 per cent of the population is illiterate. New Zealand's distress because of financial difficulties, her loss in population, her many communistic theories, are slow in proving that woman suffrage has been of help in that country.

J. Grattan Grey, an inhabitant of Australasia the greater part of his life, and competent to speak of the conditions there, writes as follows of women suffrage in New Zealand: "Not only has it not fulfilled any of the improving and refining services which were claimed for it, when the measure was brought before Parliament, but as an absolute fact, public and political life and the personnel of Parliament itself have degenerated to a most deplorable degree ever since the introduction of female franchise at parliamentary elections in that country."

Turning to England, we find that no woman has the parliamentary vote and as the scope of parliamentary legislation includes all that is delegated in this country to our state as well as to our national assemblies, plus something of municipal legislation, it will be seen that there is left a portion only of municipal suffrage as that term is generally understood here. Municipal suffrage for women as petitioned for in this country is not like municipal suffrage as exercised by women in Great Britain or anywhere else. Mr. Albert Shaw in his volume on Municipal government in Great Britain says: "Every woman who is at the head of a family,—that is, has no husband to act for her, or is at the head of a business, and pays up to a prescribed rate of tax,—is given the right to vote for municipal officers and also for parish officers." Under the local government act of 1894 married as well as single women are allowed to vote for or be chosen as parish counsellors, guardians or district counsellors, or as members of London vestries and district boards, positions practically equivalent to membership on our boards of philanthropy and education. In 1907, the Campbell-Bannerman government by the Woman's qualification act granted the right to serve on all local government bodies to all qualified women, the qualifications being almost the same as for men. Outside of London no married woman—that is, no woman whose husband is living, can vote or serve on a town or county council, but in London there is no such disqualification. The *London Times*, under date of September 6, 1907, fittingly says: "The position of woman and

local government was so confusing and illogical that only an expert could distinguish the bodies on which a woman could sit from those for which she was ineligible; and the voting qualification (which, it is hoped, will be dealt with in a later bill) is even more confusing. Married women may vote for some councils, but not for all, while the qualified widow or spinster may vote for one and all." The act of 1907 did not make possible a new and untried experiment, but was passed as the logical simplification of a most confused condition which had become too chaotic to endure. The present law operates to make women poor law guardians, to give them positions dealing with educational matters, and in general to enable them to devote themselves not to men's work but to the occupations for which they are especially fitted, to fill positions which women in our country have held with great benefit to the community, as overseers of the poor, on boards of schools, hospitals, libraries and in those larger domesticities which are akin to domestic life. When women of England go beyond this and demand the Parliamentary vote, the leading woman of their country, Mrs. Humphry Ward, writes "let us in the name of common sense leave to men the franchise which determines war and peace, diplomacy and finance, and those vast industrial affairs which are exclusively masculine—the franchise which elects President and Congress, and puts a British Prime Minister in power." That great constructive genius of this generation, Earl Cromer, the maker of modern Egypt, heads the movement among English men to keep women from the imperial franchise, and associated with him are, Baron Liston, Frederic Harrison, Rudyard Kipling and many others.

Women in America without the ballot are much more widely represented in various bodies appointed by governors and elected by the people than in England. And the laws of this country affecting women and children are far in advance of those in Great Britain. If we are ready to copy England's municipal suffrage for women, are we also prepared to adopt her cumulative vote for school boards, or plural vote whereby owners and, as they call renters in England, "occupiers" are alike entitled to from one to six

votes apiece for parochial boards according to the value upon which they pay taxes. This brief survey of conditions abroad shows us that under autocratic and monarchical governments women have a restricted franchise; that in the republics of Switzerland and France woman suffrage is a negligible quantity; while in England and her colonies the conditions are so different from ours as to be no safe guide to us in determining the expediency of granting suffrage to women in this country.

Here in New York within a week you have seen sandwich women walking about whose boards declared "In Utah, Idaho, Wyoming and Colorado, women vote on equal terms with men; why not in New York?" The answer is not far to seek. For forty years women have had full suffrage in Wyoming. The population of that state is about equal to that of Albany. The laws of these four states are not superior to the laws of the older states where women do not vote. The entire population of the four states is less than the population of the state of Maryland, and about one-third the population of New York city, while the total area of these four states is about eight times the area of New York state. Colorado is the only one of these states where conditions are in any way comparable to those which exist in our more densely populated areas, but so good an authority as the late General W. J. Palmer declared that woman suffrage in his state was a failure and did more harm than good. Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman said to a gathering of college women this winter that woman suffrage where it existed has not purified politics. These four western equal suffrage states are the only states recognized on the suffrage flag. They are "the true states"—stars of yellow on a field of blue. Oregon, in June of 1908, by a decisive majority—twice that of the majority of 1906 refused a constitutional amendment. Twenty-nine counties gave a majority of 21,000 and over against woman suffrage. Four counties (there are 33 counties in the state of Oregon) gave majorities of 7, 18, 31, and 34 in favor of woman suffrage; two of these latter are on the Pacific Ocean; one is in the center of the state; and one borders on the state of Idaho, where women have had full

suffrage since 1896. This latter county gave a vote of 31 in favor of woman suffrage, but the two other counties of Oregon which are in physical contact with the woman suffrage experiment in Idaho, gave together a majority of 800 against woman suffrage.

In some states of the Union women have a vote on questions of taxation, that is, women tax-payers have a right to vote upon questions submitted to *tax-payers*.

The only state which has municipal suffrage for women is Kansas, where it was granted in 1887. Repeated attempts to enlarge this municipal suffrage to state and federal suffrage in Kansas have failed. Happy augury for us, if we remember the dictum of Kipling's walking delegate: "What the horses of Kansas think of to-day, the horses of America will think to-morrow *an' I tell you* that when the horses of America rise in their might, the day of the oppressor is ended." Since the legislatures of 1908 and 1909 have convened, the suffragists have been particularly active; yet they have been defeated in Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, Nebraska, Iowa, in the latter by a three to one vote. Your Committee on the Judiciary reported eleven to two in favor of the conservative woman, and Massachusetts on a question of submission to the voters of a proposition to strike out the word "male" from the qualification of voters in the Constitution of Massachusetts went on record with the largest majority ever given in that state to a similar proposition, 171 noes to 54 yeas.

In 1838 widows in Kentucky were given the school suffrage. From time to time women in 29 states have been given a vote in the election of school officers. In 1879, after repeated demands for woman suffrage, the Massachusetts Legislature granted school suffrage to women. No poll tax is even assessed; a woman who is a citizen of Massachusetts, may merely register and vote. The suffrage leaders said in those days of 1879, "Give us the school suffrage and we will show you that women are in earnest when they ask for the ballot. Women can easily be informed on school matters; the school is an interest near to every woman's heart. We will show you what women can do." And they have shown

what women will do. A partisan or sectarian issue will on occasion bring out the women's vote, but after 30 years from 2 to 3 per cent. of the women who can register and vote for School committee do so. According to the reports of the Election commission of Massachusetts in 1908 there were 180 towns in that Commonwealth where the names of 3,154 women were on the voting list and not one single woman voted on election day. If we add 28 more towns to these 180 and so take 208 towns in our group we have a registration of 6,076 women, and an actual vote cast by women numbering 118. The logic of theory may be on the side of those who ask for the extension of suffrage to women. But the logic of stubborn, cold facts is on the side of those who ask that woman shall not assume the responsibilities of political life.

The problem for solution to-day is the administration of our cities. More than one-quarter of our population lives within these cities. It is in the government of our cities that our political machinery is breaking down under universal manhood suffrage and graft and corruption are creeping in. The education, the training of the present great number of voters, many of them uninformed in our American traditions, is task enough for those who would make our municipalities clean and sound. Any patriotic woman must hesitate before she asks that a body of voters, untrained in matters of politics, unused to habits of thought along business or political lines, shall be added to the already complicated problem which faces those who would make sound our body politics. American woman to-day, as women of all times have done, set the standards and ideals of society. Our task is before us. The formation of public opinion is in our hands and in the last analysis, we are governed by public opinion. The exceptional woman is more powerful to-day in her civic work because she works without a partisan motive. To admit all women to the franchise would double the number of voters and unless we are prepared to assume that woman has greater political wisdom than man, the result would not benefit the state, while the process would cripple the energies, the activities, and the influence of public-spirited women.

